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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

VOL. III.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO

THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

YEAR 1799.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

BENEFICIO QUAM METU OBLIGARE HOMINES MALIT; EXTERASQUE GENTES FIDE AC SOCIETATE JUNCTAS HABERE, QUAM TRISTI SUBJECTAS SERVITIO.

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MEMOIRS

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GEORGE III.

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UPON

UPON the very ſame day that France declared war againſt Great Britain, the Britiſh parliament was engaged in diſcuſſing a meſſage from the king, ſtating, " That his majeſty had cauſed to be laid before them copies of ſeveral papers which had paſſed between M. Chauvelin and the miniſter for foreign affairs, and of the order of departure tranſmitted to M. Chauvelin. And his majeſty moreover declared, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs he thought it indiſpenſable to make a further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land, for maintaining the rights of his own dominions, for ſupporting his allies, and for oppoſing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, at all times dangerous to the intereſts of Europe, but peculiarly ſo when connected with the propagation of principles ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety."

On this occaſion Mr. Pitt, who had now reſumed his ſeat in parliament, made an eloquent harangue, evidently calculated to prepare the minds of his auditors for war, and to inflame the paſſions of the houſe to the higheſt pitch. Adverting, at the commencement of his ſpeech, to the melancholy cataſtrophe which had juſt taken place in France, he repreſented it in terms of the moſt high-flown rhetorical exaggeration, " as an event ſo full of grief and horror, that he wiſhed it were poſſible to tear it from their memories, and expunge it from the page of hiſtory;—but that event was unfortunately paſſed, and the preſent age muſt be for ever contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witneſſed it. In this dreadful tranſaction they ſaw concentrated the effect of thoſe principles, puſhed to their utmoſt extent, which ſet out with diſſolving all the bonds by which ſociety was held together—principles eſtabliſhed in oppoſition to every law human and divine, and which, preſumptuouſly relying on the authority of wild and deluſive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wiſdom and experience of former ages, and even the ſacred inſtructions of Revela-

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tion." After indulging himſelf long in this ſort of declamation, Mr. Pitt adverted to the papers before the houſe. During the whole ſummer, (he affirmed) while France had been engaged in the war with Auſtria and Pruſſia, his majeſty had in no ſhape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to obſerve. But what had been the conduct of the French? The firſt inſtance of their ſucceſs in Savoy had been ſufficient to demonſtrate the inſincerity of their aſſurances, and to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately reſolved to annex it for ever to their dominions. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had ſtated their plan of overturning every government; threatening deſtruction to all who refuſed that fraternization, which, by a horrid mockery, they pretended to offer. They had rendered the Netherlands a province, in ſubſtance as well as in name, to France; and they had ſhewn a diſpoſition to add to its territory every country which ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms; for the wild and deſtructive ambition of the preſent rulers of France was limited only by their power. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of the decree of the 19th of November; but, as had been already ſtated by the noble ſecretary of ſtate, they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, inſtitutions, and conduct, had been directed to the ſubverſion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had teſtified the moſt violent and decided enmity: the bloody ſentence, executed by the hand of the aſſaſſin againſt their late monarch, was paſſed againſt the ſovereigns of all countries. No political aſſociation in this kingdom, however contemptible, had ſent addreſſes containing ſentiments of ſedition and treaſon to their aſſembly which had not been received with even a degree of theatrical extravagance, and cheriſhed with all the enthuſiaſm of congenial feeling.—In relation to the violated rights of his majeſty and his allies, involved in the

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the queſtion relative to the Scheld, he aſſerted the excluſive claim of the Dutch to the navigation of that river, guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties; to which the French, who could have no pretence to interfere in this matter but in the aſſumed character of ſovereigns of the Low Countries, or arbiters of Europe, oppoſed certain viſionary theoretic principles, ſuch as deſtroyed the force of all poſitive obligations, though they had repeatedly pledged themſelves to the obſervance of all the ſubſiſting treaties. He granted that the Dutch had made no formal requiſition of ſupport in actual circumſtances, contenting themſelves with proteſting againſt the invaſion of their rights; but, becauſe they were timid, were we to leave them expoſed to the certain ruin that awaited them?—The French had ſtated that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the concluſion of the war. Upon a promiſe ſo illuſory there could not be placed the ſmalleſt dependence; and they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received ſeditious addreſſes from this country. Theſe addreſſes they received as expreſſive of the ſentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom, he was happy to ſay, deteſted the principles contained in them. Thus in all thoſe three aſſurances which they had given—1ſt, Of their intention to reject any ſyſtem of aggrandizement; 2dly, To abſtain from their interfering in the government of any neutral country; and 3dly, To reſpect the rights of his majeſty and his allies, they had entirely failed, and on every point completely reverſed that line of conduct which they had ſo ſolemnly pledged themſelves to adopt. In the paper tranſmitted by the executive council, they had given their *ultimatum*, ſo that we muſt either accept the ſatisfaction they offer, or a war muſt be the conſequence. As to the time, the preciſe moment, he ſhould not pretend to fix it. A ſatisfactory explanation would not even now be refuſed; but he ſhould deceive them if he ſhould ſay that he thought any ſuch explanation

planation would be given, or that a war could be avoided." He then moved an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty in the uſual form.

A moſt animated debate enſued. Mr. Whitbread denied "that the barbarities imputed to France were the neceſſary conſequences of the French revolution, or of republican principles. To the conduct of the powers combined againſt the liberties of France, to the ſanguinary manifeſtoes of the duke of Brunſwic, might they be, without heſitation, aſcribed. Theſe manifeſtoes bore rather the ſtamp and character of thoſe Gothic and Scythian invaders, with whom to conquer and deſtroy were the ſame, than of the enlightened ſpirit of the eighteenth century. They breathed the fury of an Attila, whoſe emphatical boaſt, as recorded by a celebrated hiſtorian, was—'Where Attila's horſe ſets his foot the graſs never grows.' The balance of power was ſaid to be endangered by the aggrandizement of France; but were any apprehenſions entertained on this ſubject when France was over-run by the arms of Pruſſia and Auſtria? Were any ſymptoms of uneaſineſs apparent when the empreſs of Ruſſia, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, took poſſeſſion of Poland? But the principles of France were ſaid to enhance, if not to conſtitute, the danger. Surely the principles of deſpotiſm, propagated by the ſword, were not leſs dangerous than thoſe of licentiouſneſs. To demand that the French troops ſhould evacuate their conqueſts, in order to pave the way to negociation with us, was the height of inſolence.—A hard neceſſity indeed, ſhould he conceive it, for Great Britain to be forced into a war to maintain for the benefit of the Dutch the excluſive navigation of the Scheld; for the excluſive navigation of that river had been eſtabliſhed by force, and conſented to by weakneſs. At leaſt we had a right to expect ſome preciſe requiſition of the Dutch for the aſſiſtance ſtipulated by treaty; but the miniſter acknowledged that no ſuch demand had been made. On the contrary, in a proclamation iſſued

iſſued by the States General ſo late as the 10th of January laſt, they expreſsly declare themſelves to be *at peace*, in conſequence of the ſtrict neutrality they had obſerved. The decree of November he would not defend, but the explanation of it was ſuch as to take away all ſerious apprehenſions of injury deſigned to this country. Having gone through the matter contained in the papers, Mr. Whitbread declared he could find no juſtification of the conduct of adminiſtration. He thought the maintenance of peace in the power of the miniſtry, in perfect conſiſteney with the honor, dignity, and intereſts of this country; but their conduct and words denoted war. He had ſtill, however, an hope of peace remaining. That hope was founded on the knowledge he had of the character of his majeſty's preſent ſervants. He knew that they had the faculty of enlarging or reducing objects preciſely to the form in which they wiſhed to conſider them. That at one time the fortreſs of Oczakow had deranged the balance of power in Europe; at another the whole kingdom of Poland had been thrown in without making a vibration in their political beam. He knew that they had never advanced too far to recede; that they had never threatened too much to retreat. The verſatility and weakneſs of their counſels, though it inſpired this hope, made it nevertheleſs, he confeſſed, a faint and deſperate one; and he concluded with ſaying he could not give his aſſent to the addreſs."

Mr. Fox commenced a very energetic ſpeech by complaining of the groſs miſrepreſentations and miſconſtructions of what he and thoſe who thought with him had ſpoken during the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion. They were calumniated as partiſans of France, and as the worſt enemies of the country. This only ſerved to ſhew that they were engaged in a ſervice of danger as well as honor; and if he concealed his ſentiments, or deſerted his ſtation, from any motive

motive of intimidation, he ſhould betray his truſt, and degrade his character.*

Mr. Fox allowed that the trial and execution of the French monarch were acts of the groſſeſt inhumanity and injuſtice. But the invariable maxim of policy was, that crimes perpetrated in one independent ſtate were not cognizable in another. Had we not treated, and even formed alliances, with Portugal and with Spain at the very time thoſe kingdoms were diſgraced and polluted by the moſt barbarous acts of ſuperſtition and cruelty—of racks, torture, and fire, under the abominable tyranny of the Inquiſition? Much of the enormities committed by France had been with great probability aſcribed to the attack of the combined powers. This, however, he would neither urge as an excuſe or a palliation; but he would aver that a combination more dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, had never been formed. It had been ſaid that Auſtria was not the aggreſſor in the war with France. Had thoſe who ſaid ſo ſeen the Declaration of Pilnitz? Let them look at that declaration, take the golden rule, of putting themſelves in the ſituation of the French, and then pronounce upon the queſtion of aggreſſion.—He would not go over the atrocious manifeſtoes that preceded or followed the march of the combined armies. There was not a man in the houſe, or at leaſt but one, who would attempt to defend them. But theſe it ſeemed were not to be executed—he hoped they were not; but the only ſecurity he knew of was, that thoſe who iſſued them had not the means. Mr. Fox ſtated the grounds of the war to be three—The opening of the Scheld; the decree of November

* The high popularity of Mr. Pitt at this criſis, and the extreme unpopularity, reſentment, and even national rage, diſplayed againſt Mr. Fox, (for nations are no leſs ſubject to paroxyſms of paſſion than individuals,) recalls to recollection a famous anecdote of antiquity. "The Athenians," ſaid Demoſthenes to Phocion, "will in ſome fit of phrenzy put you to death"—"And you," replied Phocion, "ſhould they recover their ſenſes."

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November 19; and the danger to Europe from the progreſs of the French arms. As to the *firſt*, miniſters did not, and could not ſtate that the Dutch had called upon us to fulfil the terms of our alliance. The plain truth was, that to force the Dutch into a war at ſo much peril to them, which they ſaw and dreaded, was not to fulfil but to abuſe the treaty; and the conduct of miniſters, as to this ground of complaint, was wholly diſingenuous. *Secondly*, The decree of the 19th of November he regarded as an inſult, and the explanation of the executive council as no adequate ſatisfaction. But the explanation, imperfect as it was, ſhewed that the French were not diſpoſed to inſiſt upon that decree, and that they were inclined to peace. It was ſurely the extreme of arrogance to complain of inſult without deigning to ſtate the nature of the reparation required. When it was ſaid we muſt have *ſecurity*, we ought at leaſt to tell them what that word was meant to import. *Thirdly*, With reſpect to the danger of Europe and the balance of power, we had ſeen the entire conqueſt of Poland, and the invaſion of France, with ſuch marked indifference, that it would be difficult now to take it up with the grace of ſincerity. For ſatisfaction upon this point we had demanded no leſs than the immediate withdrawment of the French troops from the Auſtrian Netherlands. Were we then come to this pitch of inſolence as to ſay to France—'You have conquered a part of an enemy's territory who made war upon you. We would not interfere at your requeſt to mediate a peace, but we now require you to abandon the advantages you have gained, while he is preparing to attack you anew'?—Was this the neutrality we meant to hold out to France—'If you are invaded and beaten we will be quiet ſpectators, but if you defeat your enemy, if you enter his territory, we declare war againſt you'? That the invaſion of the Netherlands ought to alarm us, if the reſult of that invaſion was to make the country an appendage to France, there could be no doubt. The French had promiſed to

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evacuate the country at the concluſion of the war: Was this naked promiſe ſufficient? Certainly not. But it was for us to ſtate candidly and explicitly the ſecurity which would be deemed ſufficient. What ſecurity would they be able to give us after a war which they could not give now? Was it clear that they would refuſe that ſecurity, if we would condeſcend to propoſe it to them in intelligible terms?

But all thoſe grounds of hoſtility againſt France, Mr. Fox ſaid, differed totally from the avowed object of the combined armies, our eventual allies in this war; which was no leſs than the deſtruction of the republican government of France recently eſtabliſhed. To this, then, we came at laſt—that we were aſhamed to own engaging to aid the reſtoration of deſpotiſm, and colluſively ſought pretext in the Scheld and the Netherlands. In all deciſions on peace or war, it was important to conſider what we might loſe and what we could gain. Extenſion of territory was neither expected nor eligible. On the other hand, would any man ſay that the events of war might not, with too great probability, produce a change in the internal ſtate of Holland, and the political ſituation of the ſtadtholder, too afflicting to anticipate? Was the ſtate of Ireland ſuch as to make war deſirable? This was ſaid to be a ſubject too delicate to touch upon; but he approved not of that delicacy which taught men to ſhut their eyes to danger. The ſtate of Ireland was indeed alarming, the groſs miſconduct of adminiſtration having brought the government and legiſlature into contempt in the eyes of the people. He hoped the plan to be purſued would be conciliatory; that conceſſion to the claims of the people would be deemed wiſdom; and the time of danger, contrary to the maxims of policy hitherto adopted, the fit time for reform.—After a moſt able and eloquent, though unavailing, ſpeech from this truly-great and illuſtrious ſtateſman, the queſtion was put, and the addreſs carried without a diviſion.

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A very few days ſubſequent to this debate the intelligence was received that France had declared war againſt Great Britain and Holland; and, on the 11th of February, 1793, a royal meſſage was delivered to the two houſes of parliament, announcing, "That the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and have ſince, on the moſt *groundleſs pretences*, actually declared war againſt his majeſty and the United Provinces. Under the circumſtances of this *wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion* his majeſty had taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the *honor of his crown*, and to vindicate the *rights of his people*. And his majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual ſupport of the houſe of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a *juſt and neceſſary war*; and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the progreſs of *a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity* and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice. In a cauſe of ſuch general concern his majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with his majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of *anarchy and confuſion*, and in contributing to the *ſecurity* and tranquillity *of Europe*."

Such is the famous meſſage, upon the peculiar phraſes contained in which the changes have ſo long been rung with ſo much noiſe and ſo little meaning. Upon this occaſion Mr. Pitt contented himſelf with examining the ſeveral articles of the French declaration; and he concluded with aſſerting, that he found in it nothing but pretexts and allegations too weak to require refutation. "We had, he ſaid, in every inſtance, obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality with reſpect

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ſpect to France. We have puſhed to its utmoſt extent the ſyſtem of temperance and moderation. We have waited to the laſt moment for ſatisfactory explanation." He then moved the addreſs to the throne.

Mr. Fox expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that the miniſter ſhould pretend to have acted on a ſyſtem of temperance and moderation, when every conciliatory propoſition on the part of the French had been diſdainfully rejected. Every ſtep on our part ſeemed to indicate a deſire to break with France. To have continued earl Gower at Paris after the event of the 10th of Auguſt would have implied no recognition of the validity of the government which ſucceeded to the monarchy, or approbation of their proceedings; and it was certainly more eligible to treat with thoſe who exerciſed the powers of government in a direct than an indirect mode. As the prohibition of exporting corn to France, when it was allowed to other countries, was a poſitive infraction of the ſubſiſting treaty; and the order received by M. Chauvelin to depart the kingdom was an act of open hoſtility on our part; he could not allow the declaration of war to be an unprovoked aggreſſion on that of France. He moved, therefore, a ſuitable amendment to the propoſed addreſs.

Mr. Burke pronounced a vehement Philippic, affording a melancholy contraſt to the ſpeeches of his better days. Among other extravagances, he took upon him to affirm that the members of oppoſition had no right to demand from miniſters the avowal of any ſpecific object as neceſſary to the juſtification of the war. For his part, he had never heard or read of any ſuch principle in theory, or of any ſuch avowal in practice. The firſt queſtion he conceived to be, whether there was juſt cauſe or foundation for the war? The ſecond, how it ſhould be carried on to the greateſt effect?—In no inſtance whatever had any power, at the commencement of a war, declared what the object of it was. It was contrary to the policy of this and every

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every other country: it was never heard of.* No man, he declared, had a more lively ſenſe of the evils of war than himſelf. A war with France, in preſent circumſtances, muſt be terrible; but peace much more ſo. A nation that had abandoned all its valuable diſtinctions, arts, ſciences, religion, law, order—every thing but the ſword, was moſt dreadful to all countries compoſed of citizens who only uſed ſoldiers as a defence. He had no heſitation to pronounce, as in the Divine preſence, that miniſters had not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought to it by an over-ruling neceſſity. He had been grieved to the ſoul, for four years paſt, that his utmoſt exertions were unable to produce, upon the government of the country, or in the public mind, a ſenſe of the danger that approached them. At length the infatuation was removed,—miniſters awoke to the peril that menaced; and he pledged himſelf, therefore, to give them his clear, ſteady, uniform, unequivocal ſupport. If any charge was to be laid to the ſhare of miniſters, it was that of too long delay; but in his early oppoſition

* The effrontery of this aſſertion, even in Mr. Burke, is amazing; for it is an incontrovertible hiſtorical fact that the preſent is the only war ſince the Revolution which has been entered upon without an avowed and definite object. Nothing analogous to it has taken place in our annals ſince the war againſt Holland in 1672, the object of which was never avowed, though well known to be the ſubverſion of the exiſting government, and the eventual partition, of the country. The object of the war immediately ſucceeding the Revolution was, to compel France to a recognition of the new ſettlement. Of the war of queen Anne, the reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria. Of the war of 1718, the evacuation of the iſland of Sicily by Spain on the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. Of the maritime war of 1740, the renunciation by Spain of the pretended right of ſearch in the American ſeas. Of the continental war, the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction. Of the war of 1755, to repel the encroachments of France upon the territorial rights of our colonies in North America. Of the American war, the eſtabliſhment of the ſupremacy of Great Britain, and the right of taxation over the ſame colonies. Even the laſt of our wars, that with the Dutch in 1780, had a ſpecific object, inſignificant and contemptible as it confeſſedly was, *viz.* the exemplary puniſhment of the penſionary of Amſterdam, M. Van Berkel.

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oppoſition to the views and proceedings of France, he was convinced that he was not accompanied by the feelings of the nation; nor was it till full-blown miſchief had alarmed the people and rouſed the king, that the government could have had a proper ſupport. From thoſe men who could neither vindicate the principles nor deny the power of France, yet impeded the meaſures taken to ſecure us againſt that power, he differed fundamentally and eſſentially, in every principle of morals, in every principle of manners, ſentiment, diſpoſition, and in taſte. France, he ſaid, had been for ſome time in a continual ſeries of hoſtile acts againſt this country, both internal and external. *Firſt*, it directed its purſuits to univerſal empire, under the name of fraternization, to overturn the fabric of our laws and government; *after this* it invented a new law of nations, ſubſidiary to that intention; *then* acted upon that law; *next* it directed the principal operations of that law to Great Britain; and, *laſtly*, eſtabliſhed a horrible tyranny within itſelf, chaſed every honeſt perſon out of it, held up temptations moſt ſeductive to the unenlightened lower order of all countries, and furniſhed inſtruments for the overthrow of their government. The putting the king of France to death was done not as an example to France, not to extinguiſh the race—not to put an end to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. This new-created empire of theirs was only ſecondary to the accompliſhment of their plans of ſhaking all governments. War with the chateau, and peace with the cottage, was the baſis of their new ſyſtem. Atheiſm, he ſaid, was the centre from which ray out all their miſchief and villany; and they proceeded to eſtabliſh it with the ſword. He readily allowed that this was the moſt dangerous war we were ever engaged in; that we were to contend with a ſet of men now inured to warfare, and led on by enthuſiaſm and the order of conqueſt to ſuch a degree, that they were willing to barter arts, commerce, induſtry,

induſtry, manufactures, and civilization itſelf, for the ſword. The alliances we may form give, however, a good proſpect of *ſubduing* them; whereas, were they allowed to proceed, we may ſingly, and in the end, become their eaſy prey. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had ſpoken with ſome aſperity of an intention in miniſters to reſtore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain; but certain he was that it would be felicity and comfort compared with the preſent ſtate of tyranny exerciſed in France. Their enormities have already produced univerſal miſery; their miſery will drive them to deſpair; and out of that deſpair they will look for a remedy in the deſtruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain.

Poſterity will judge of the diſtempered ſtate of the public mind at this period, when the ſucceſſive ſpeeches uttered by this eloquent madman (and on the compariſon there is ſcarcely any diſcernible difference between them) were received with the higheſt demonſtrations of admiration and applauſe,—the houſe unfortunately thinking themſelves enlightened by his arguments, when they were only inflamed by his invectives.

To the preſent harangue Mr. Sheridan made a moſt ſpirited reply. "A dread of France," ſaid this ſpeaker, "ought unqueſtionably, as we are truly and emphatically told, to be a fundamental principle in the mind of a Britiſh ſtateſman. No alteration in her government can change this principle, or ought to ſuſpend this apprehenſion. But who was the gentleman ſo peculiarly tenacious of this creed? —the only man in all England who had held the directly contrary doctrine. Had he forgotten, or could that houſe at leaſt have forgotten, that, in his firſt contemptuous revilings of the French revolution, he had expreſsly ſcorned and inſulted them as a nation extinguiſhed for ever, and blotted out of the map of Europe? The hiſtorian had merely to record—'Gallos olim bello floruiſſe.' If the conſiſtency of

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of the honorable gentleman could be matter of regular queſtion in that houſe, he ſcrupled not to aſſert that there was ſcarcely an iota of his new principles to which there was not a recorded contradiction in his former profeſſions.

" The honorable gentleman ſcorned to put the queſtion upon ſo mean an iſſue as, whether the hoſtile overt-acts committed by France had been ſufficiently explained and diſavowed to this country: it was a war againſt the principles of the French government we were to engage in; and therefore it followed, that it was to be a war to exterminate either them or their principles. This doctrine he thought both wild and deteſtable; but, admitting that it was right, the honorable gentleman muſt extend his ſcorn and obloquy to the miniſter and his adherents as well as to the oppoſers of the war; for, though they differed in their concluſion, they had diſcuſſed the grounds of the war preciſely on the ſame principle and footing. The honorable gentleman differed equally from both: and in this view he thought it uncandid and unwarrantable in the miniſter to liſten in ſilence to theſe inflammatory rants, and even to encourage the war-whoop of a man breathing vengeance and deſtruction—

——————Quo non præſtantior alter
Ære ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu. VIRG.

" But the ambition of France, and her aggreſſions againſt this country, were not, according to the honorable gentleman, the chief of her offences: Religion demanded that we ſhould avenge her cauſe; atheiſm was avowed and profeſſed in France. Was it not, however, notorious, that almoſt all the men and women of rank and faſhion in France, including the far greater part of the preſent emigrant nobility, whoſe piety the honorable gentleman was eager to contraſt with republican infidelity, were the genuine and zealous followers of Voltaire and Rouſſeau? And if the lower orders were ultimately perverted, it was by

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by their precept and example. The atheiſm, therefore, of the new ſyſtem, as oppoſed to the piety of the old, was one of the weakeſt arguments he had yet heard in favor of this mad, political, and religious cruſade.—Mr. Sheridan obſerved that the honorable gentleman had never made any allowance for the novelty of that ſituation in which France ſtood after the deſtruction of its old arbitrary government. It was an unalterable truth that deſpotiſm degrades and depraves human nature, and renders its ſubjects, on the firſt recovery of their rights, unfit for the exerciſe of them. In the firſt wildneſs of liberty they would probably daſh their broken chains, to the preſent injury of themſelves, and of all who were near them. Still he feared the enemy leſs than our allies—For who were thoſe allies? What had been their conduct? Could the honorable gentleman forget his character of the Poliſh revolution? Who had marred that lovely proſpect, and annihilated the faireſt offspring of virtue and valor?—thoſe allies who were the choſen, aſſociated, and boſom counſellors in the future efforts of this deluded nation."

The amendment of Mr. Fox was, after a long and intereſting diſcuſſion, negatived, and the addreſs, as moved by the miniſter, carried without a diviſion.

The debates in the houſe of peers during this ſeſſion were too ſimilar to thoſe of the commons to render a minute narration of them neceſſary. From the great defection experienced by the Whig party, the numbers of the oppoſition were reduced very low indeed; but the abilities of the marquis of Lanſdown, the lords Lauderdale, Moira, Guildford, &c. gave them both animation and intereſt. On occaſion of the addreſs moved by lord Grenville in reply to the meſſage from the throne, the earl of Lauderdale propoſed an amendment coincident with that of Mr. Fox. Lord Stanhope, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, very properly called the attention of the houſe to the ſecond article of the treaty of 1786, by which it is expreſsly declared, that in

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caſe of any ſubject of miſunderſtanding ariſing between the two nations, the ſending away the ambaſſador reſident at either court ſhould be deemed a rupture. The marquis of Lanſdown ſupported the preceding ſpeakers in their general arguments againſt the war. "Who," ſaid the noble lord, "are the aggreſſors—they who kept a miniſter, or they who diſmiſſed him?—they who offered to explain, or they who refuſed to hear?—they who offered to go on and trade in amity, or they who prohibited the exportation of grain to them while it was open to the reſt of the world?" The addreſs at length paſſed in the affirmative, without a diviſion.

On the 18th of February Mr. Fox brought forward a ſet of reſolutions, ſtating in clear and ſpecific language the ſentiments of the friends of peace, and the grounds of difference between miniſters and the members of oppoſition. They were preciſely as follow:

Firſt, That it is not for the honor or intereſt of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumſtances of that country, for the purpoſe either of ſuppreſſing or puniſhing any opinions or principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there; or of eſtabliſhing among the French people any particular form of government.

Secondly, That the particular complaints which have been made againſt the conduct of the French government are not of a nature to juſtify war in the firſt inſtance, without having attempted to obtain redreſs by negociation.

Thirdly, That it appears to this houſe, that in the late negociation between his majeſty's miniſters and the agents of the French government the ſaid miniſters did not take ſuch meaſures as were likely to procure redreſs, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained; and, particularly, that they never ſtated diſtinctly to the French government any terms and conditions, the acceſ-

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ſion to which, on the part of France, would induce his majeſty to perſevere in a ſyſtem of neutrality.

Fourthly, That it does not appear that the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been ſtated as grounds of war againſt France, have been attended to by his majeſty's miniſters in the caſe of Poland, in the invaſion of which unhappy country, both in the laſt year and more recently, the moſt open contempt of the law of nations, and the moſt unjuſtifiable ſpirit of aggrandiſement, have been manifeſted, without having produced, ſo far as appears to this houſe, any remonſtrance from his majeſty's miniſters.

Fifthly, That it is the duty of his majeſty's miniſters, in the preſent criſis, to adviſe his majeſty againſt entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a ſeparate peace whenever the intereſts of his majeſty and his people may render ſuch a meaſure adviſable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe that his majeſty is acting in concert with other powers, for the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of compelling the people of France to ſubmit to a form of government not approved by that nation.

A debate not leſs vehement than the former took place; and, upon a diviſion, the members appeared to be 270 who voted for the previous queſtion, againſt 44 who ſupported the motion.

On the 21ſt of February, Mr. Grey moved an addreſs to the throne, containing a maſterly and comprehenſive view of the whole ſubject-matter of diſpute. It concluded with ſtating the ſtriking truth, That the calamities of ſuch a war as was now commenced—a war of vengeance, and not of neceſſity—muſt be aggravated, in the eſtimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate ſituation we had ſo unwiſely abandoned.

Mr. Pitt, in a few words, declaring that this ſubject required no further diſcuſſion, the motion of Mr. Grey was immediately negatived without a diviſion.

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Unbounded obloquy having been thrown on the views and characters of thoſe who had oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, Mr. Sheridan, on the 4th of March, moved, That the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of the ſeditious practices, &c. referred to in his majeſty's ſpeech; declaring, at the ſame time, openly and freely, that his intention was to inſtitute a rigorous inquiry into the truth of the reports ſo inſidiouſly circulated. The motion of Mr. Sheridan was negatived without a diviſion; but it had the firſt ſenſible effect on the public mind, in exonerating the oppoſition from the calumnies to which they had been ſo long expoſed, and in weakening the belief of many reſpectable perſons in the reality of thoſe pretended ſecret machinations againſt the government which miniſters, as Mr. Sheridan declared himſelf confident, had denounced for no other purpoſe than to divert the attention of the public from the actual ſtate of things, and to betray them blindly and with greater facility into a war.

On the 15th of the ſame month, the attorney-general, ſir John Scott, introduced his famous "Traitorous Correſpondence Bill," by which it was not only, according to the precedent of former bills paſſed at the commencement of former wars, declared to be high-treaſon to ſupply the exiſting government of France with military ſtores, &c. but alſo to purchaſe lands of inheritance in France, to inveſt money in any of the French funds, and many other novel and arbitrary regulations. This bill met with much oppoſition, and ſeveral of the clauſes of it were modified and mitigated in its paſſage through the two houſes.

At this period of the ſeſſion, alſo, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual ſtatement of finance; and ſcarcely had the war commenced, when a debt of ſix millions was incurred and funded,—the temporary taxes impoſed for defraying the expenſe of the Spaniſh armament being now made permanent. Soon after which, the two houſes adjourned for the Eaſter receſs.

During

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During this interval, it may be proper to transfer our attention to the ſtate of affairs on the Continent.

In the courſe of the winter, general Dumouriez had propoſed to the Executive Council to take poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, without which he alleged neither the paſſage of the Meuſe nor the territory of Liege could be defended; engaging, by manifeſto, to reſtore it to the Dutch at the end of the war. That important city being then wholly unprepared for defence, the attempt was no doubt extremely feaſible; but the government of France, with a firmneſs which ſhowed their reluctance to break with the maritime powers, reſiſted this great temptation, and expreſsly commanded the general to preſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality towards the United Provinces. No ſooner was war decided upon than general Dumouriez haſtened to put into execution the plan he had formed, to advance with a body of troops poſted at the Moerdyke, and, maſking Breda and Gertruydenburg on the right, and Bergen-op-zoom, Klundert, and Williamſtadt, on the left, to effect a paſſage over an arm of the ſea to Dordt, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland. In the mean time general Miranda had orders, leaving general Valence before Maeſtricht, to march with all expedition to Nimeguen, in order to oppoſe the expected invaſion of the Pruſſians on that ſide.

General Dumouriez, aſſembling his army in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, entered the Dutch territory on the 17th of February. On the 24th Breda ſurrendered, through the cowardice or treachery of its governor, count Byland, almoſt on the firſt ſummons. The fort of Klundert was taken, after a brave defence, on the 26th. Within nine days afterwards, Gertruydenburg followed the example of Breda; but Williamſtadt made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and while the French troops were ſtill engaged in the ſiege of this ſmall, but ſtrong, fortreſs, intelligence arrived from the eaſtern frontier of the Netherlands which materially changed the face of the war. On the 1ſt of March, general Clairfait,

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Clairfait, having ſuddenly paſſed the Roer in the night, attacked the French poſts on that ſide, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loſs of 2000 men. The following day the archduke, brother to the reigning emperor, carried ſeveral batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon. On the 3d, the prince of Saxe Cobourg, who had highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war with the Turks, obtained a ſignal advantage over general Valence and his army, driving them from Aix-la-Chapelle to the vicinity of Liege, with the loſs of more than 5000 men and twenty pieces of cannon. The ſiege of Maeſtricht was immediately raiſed; and at midnight, on the 4th, general Miranda gave orders for a general retreat to Tongres, whence the French armies were again compelled to fall back to St. Tron, where Miranda was joined by general Valence, who had by this time evacuated Liege and its territory; and on the 8th they moved towards Tirlemont.

General Dumouriez himſelf now arrived to take the command in perſon, leaving the conduct of affairs on the northern frontier to the care of general de Flers. But the army was wholly diſpirited by the departure of their general. The Pruſſians advanced by way of Bois-le-duc. A corps of 12,000 Hanoverians, reinforced by ſeveral thouſand Britiſh troops, with the duke of York at their head, arrived nearly at the ſame time in Holland; and the ſiege of Williamſtadt was raiſed. Inſtead of proceeding to Dordt, De Flers was compelled to throw himſelf into Breda, the main body of the army retiring precipitately to Antwerp.

The troops under Miranda and Valence felt all their confidence revive on ſeeing their former victorious commander at their head; but the caprice of fortune diſappointed their hopes. On the 18th of March a general engagement took place on the plains of Neerwinden, which continued with unremitted obſtinacy from morning till evening, when the French were totally routed, with very conſiderable loſs. Miranda was, upon this occaſion, charged by Dumouriez with cauſing,

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cauſing, by his miſconduct, the loſs of the battle; but that officer retorted with great ſpirit on his commander in chief, vindicating himſelf with great ability, and plainly intimating his ſuſpicions of treachery on the part of Dumouriez. He declared that Dumouriez, who had never before failed to conſult him upon every occaſion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him; and that the poſition of the enemy had not been previouſly reconnoitred.

The French continued retreating; and, on the 21ſt, general Dumouriez took poſt near Louvain. Here a ſort of tacit ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place, and the French army was allowed to march back to their own frontier without any ſerious moleſtation, on condition of evacuating Bruſſels, and all the other towns of Brabant, &c. ſtill in their poſſeſſion. On the 27th, general Dumouriez held a conference with an Auſtrian officer of high diſtinction, colonel Mack, from whom he did not, as he tells us, conceal his deſign of marching againſt Paris, with a view of reeſtabliſhing the conſtitutional monarchy of 1791; and it was agreed that the Imperialiſts ſhould act as auxiliaries merely in the accompliſhment of this plan; not advancing, except in caſe of neceſſity, beyond the frontier of France: and that the troops to be eventually furniſhed by the prince of Cobourg ſhould act entirely under the direction of general Dumouriez.

The deſigns of Dumouriez did not, however, paſs unſuſpected at Paris. Three commiſſioners from the executive power had therefore been diſpatched to Flanders, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium. In this interview Dumouriez expreſſed himſelf with great violence againſt the jacobins. "They would ruin France," ſaid he; "but I will ſave it, though they ſhould call me a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." He ſtyled the Convention, "an horde of ruffians;" and declared, "that this aſſembly would not exiſt three weeks longer;

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longer; that France muſt have a king:" adding, "that, ſince the battle of Gemappe, he had wept over his ſucceſs in ſo bad a cauſe."

On the return of the commiſſioners to Paris, ſuſpicion being converted into certainty, general Dumouriez was ſummoned to appear at the bar of the Convention, and M. Bournonville appointed to ſuperſede him. Four new commiſſioners alſo were deputed to the army of the north, with powers to ſuſpend and arreſt all officers who ſhould fall under their ſuſpicion. On their arrival at Liſle, March 28, the commiſſioners tranſmitted their orders to general Dumouriez, to appear before them, and anſwer the charges againſt him. But the general had already fully arranged his plan, and the Rubicon was paſſed. He replied, therefore, "that, in the preſent exigent circumſtances, he could not leave the army for a moment; that when he did enter Liſle, it would be in order to purge it of traitors; and that he valued his head too much to ſubmit to an arbitrary tribunal."

The commiſſioners now adopted the daring reſolution to proceed to the camp; but they found by experience how dangerous was the attempt to ſeize the perſon of a general at the head of his army. On the 1ſt of April they arrived, in company with M. Bournonville, at St. Amand, the head-quarters of general Dumouriez; and, being admitted to his preſence, explained to him the object of their miſſion. After a long conference, the general, finding them inflexible in their purpoſe, gave the ſignal for a body of ſoldiers who were in waiting, and ordered M. Bournonville and the four commiſſioners, in the number of whom was the noted M. Camus, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, to be kept as hoſtages for the ſafety of the royal family.

Notwithſtanding the great popularity of general Dumouriez, ſymptoms ſoon appeared in the army of extreme diſſatisfaction at this act of treachery and violence. On the morning

ing of the 3d, Dumouriez repaired to the camp of Maulde, and harangued the troops, amidſt the murmurs of many of the battalions. On the next day he departed with his ſuite for Condé, which fortreſs, with Valenciennes, he had engaged to put into the hands of the Auſtrians: but on the road he received intelligence that it would not be ſafe for him to enter the place; and, in making his retreat, he fell in with a column of volunteer guards, who called to him to ſurrender: but the general, truſting to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, made, with great difficulty, his eſcape to the quarters of general Mack, through a dreadful diſcharge of muſquetry. His example was followed by general Lamorlière, the duc de Chartres, ſon of the duke of Orléans, and a few hundreds of private ſoldiers only out of the numerous army which he had commanded with ſuch brilliant ſucceſs. On the very next day appeared a proclamation from general Dumouriez, containing a recapitulation of his ſervices to the French republic, a glowing picture of the outrages of the jacobins, and of the miſchiefs to be apprehended from a continuation of anarchy in France; concluding with an exhortation to the French to reſtore the conſtitution of 1791, and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for that purpoſe.

This proclamation was accompanied by a very judicious manifeſto on the part of the prince of Cobourg, now commander-in-chief of the armies of Auſtria. After paſſing ſome encomiums on the patriotic views of general Dumouriez, it announced, "that the allied powers were no longer to be conſidered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries, in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with the general in giving to France her conſtitutional king, *and the conſtitution ſhe formed for herſelf.*" On his word of honour he pledged himſelf, "that he would not come upon the French territory to make conqueſts, but ſolely for the ends above ſpecified:" and his ſerene highneſs declared further, "that any ſtrong places which ſhould

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ſhould be put into his hands would be conſidered as ſacred depoſits, to be delivered up when the conſtitutional government in France ſhould be reſtored."

Such was the wiſe and generous policy of this heroic commander. But, by this time, Antwerp, Breda, and the other conqueſts of France on the Dutch frontier were evacuated; and a new and dazzling ſcene of ambition and aggrandiſement began once more to open to the view of the allied powers. On the 8th of April a grand council was held at Antwerp, at which were preſent the prince of Orange, accompanied by the grand-penſionary Vander Spiegel, the prince of Cobourg, counts Metternich, Staremberg, &c. with the Pruſſian, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan ambaſſadors. Here the whole plan of operations was completely changed, and the prince of Cobourg was moſt reluctantly compelled to give the ſanction of his name to a proclamation of the 9th of April, virtually reſcinding all which was contained in that of the 5th.

France appeared at this time, it muſt be confeſſed, in a ſituation truly dangerous. She was now in a ſtate of open war with Auſtria, Pruſſia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, and the Sicilies: her principal army had been driven, by a ſeries of unſucceſsful attacks, from all her recent conqueſts; and was now, by defection of its commander, in a ſtate of complete diſorganization: the Imperialiſts, aſſiſted by the efforts of England and Holland, were eſtabliſhed in great force on the frontier. On the ſide of the Rhine, the Pruſſians, under the duke of Brunſwic, threatened the important city of Mentz: and, what was perhaps ſtill more alarming to the French government, a moſt formidable inſurrection at this period broke out in the ancient provinces of Britanny and Poitou, now diſtinguiſhed by the names of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire. After gaining various advantages over the troops ſent againſt them by the Convention, the inſurgents, who profeſſed to act under the authority of Monſieur (the count de Provence,)

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Provence,) as regent of France, they held the city of Nantz itſelf in a ſtate of ſiege; and the ſituation of the revolted provinces being highly favorable to their deſigns, and enabling them to receive ſupplies to any amount, and with the utmoſt facility, from England there appeared little probability of their ſuppreſſion.

The extreme elation of the court of London in particular, at this moment, diſplayed itſelf moſt conſpicuouſly in a ſingular memorial preſented by lord Aukland, April the 5th, to the States General,* in which his lordſhip ſtated, in alluſion to the capture of M. Camus and the other Conventional commiſſioners, that the divine vengeance, for the atrocious crime which had been by their High Mightineſſes with horror foreſeen, ſeemed not to have been tardy. "Some of theſe deteſtable regicides are now," ſaid his lordſhip, "in ſuch a ſituation, that they can be ſubjected to the ſword of the law; the reſt are ſtill in the midſt of a people whom they have plunged into an abyſs of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. In ſhort, every thing that we ſee happen induces us to conſider as not far diſtant the end of theſe wretches, whoſe madneſs and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all thoſe who reſpect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The underſigned, therefore, ſubmit to the enlightened judgment and wiſdom of your High Mightineſſes, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your ſtates in Europe, or your colonies, all thoſe members of the pretended National Convention, or of the pretended Executive Council, who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the ſaid crime; and, if they ſhould be diſcovered and

* It is true that count Staremberg, the Imperial ambaſſador at the Hague, alſo ſigned the memorial; but, from the ſhortneſs of the interval that had elapſed, it evidently could not have been in conſequence of orders from his court.

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and arreſted, to deliver them up to juſtice, that they may ſerve as a leſſon and example to mankind."—To this ſanguinary memorial the ſuperior wiſdom and humanity of the Dutch government declined any reply; but it remains a ſtriking hiſtoric proof of the ſimilar temper and diſpoſition which frequently actuates thoſe who appear to differ moſt widely in their principles. The ſpirit of Popery is not confined to thoſe who bear the name of Papiſts, nor the ſpirit of Jacobiniſm to thoſe who are branded with the appellation of Jacobins.

The political creed of the court of London at this period may be clearly traced in a ſermon preached before the houſe of Lords, January 30, 1793, by Dr. Horſeley, biſhop of St. David's, containing ſentiments for which, in the reign of William III. he would have been deprived of his biſhopric; but for which, in that of George III. he was ſhortly after promoted to the ſuperior ſee of Rocheſter.—" God, to his own ſecret purpoſe," ſays this genuine ſucceſſor of Sibthorp and Manwaring, " directs the worſt actions of tyrants no leſs than the beſt of godly princes: man's abuſe, therefore, of his delegated authority, is to be borne by reſignation, like any other of God's judgments. The oppoſition of the individual to the ſovereign power is an oppoſition to God's providential arrangements. In governments which are the worſt adminiſtered, the ſovereign power, for the moſt part, is a terror not to good works, but to the evil; and, upon the whole, far more beneficial than detrimental to the ſubject. But this general good of government cannot be ſecured upon any other terms than the ſubmiſſion of the individual to what may be called its extraordinary evils. St. Paul repreſents the earthly ſovereign as the viceregent of God, accountable for miſconduct to his heavenly maſter, but entitled to obedience from the ſubjects."

The energy of the French Convention diſplayed itſelf in a moſt extraordinary manner in the midſt of the preſent circumſtances of embarraſſment and diſtreſs. New commiſſioners

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miſſioners being nominated to ſucceed Camus and his colleagues, omitted no means of reſtoring order, and invigorating the ſpirit of the French army. General Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotiſm by his reſiſtance to the orders of Dumouriez, was proviſionally appointed to the chief command, and in a very ſhort time was ſo ſucceſsful in his exertions as to be enabled to lead them with confidence into action. From the middle of April to the 8th of May, a variety of partial, though ſharp and bloody, engagements took place between the two armies, in which no deciſive advantage was gained. On that general Dampierre advanced in perſon to diſlodge a large body of the enemy poſted near the wood of Vicoigne; but martial ardor prompting him to expoſe his perſon too raſhly to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he died the following day, deeply regretted, leaving the command in the hands of general Lamarche. In this action the Engliſh troops were engaged in the field for the firſt time in this war, and behaved with all their characteriſtic intrepidity; but by the inexperience of the duke of York, their commander (for there is no royal road to the knowledge of military tactics any more than of geometry), being ordered to the attack of a ſtrong poſt in the wood, where they were expoſed to the fire of ſome maſked batteries, they ſuffered ſo much, that it was not thought expedient to make any official return of the killed and wounded.

"Great God!" exclaimed on this occaſion one of the French generals to an Engliſh officer taken priſoner in the engagement, "Why do you gallant Britons come hither to deſtroy us, or be yourſelves deſtroyed? We have no quarrel with you; and are fighting only in defence of that liberty which was purchaſed for you by the beſt blood of your anceſtors."

The ſiege of Valenciennes being now in contemplation of the prince of Cobourg, it was determined by the allies to

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to attempt an attack upon the fortified camp of Famars, which protected and covered that important fortreſs, Condé being already inveſted. At day-break, on the 23d of May, the Britiſh and Hanoverians under their royal commander, and the Auſtrians and German auxiliaries under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, made a joint aſſault upon the advanced poſts of the French. The conteſt was ſevere; but the French were evidently worſted, and, in the courſe of the night, they abandoned their camp, retreating towards Bouchain and Cambray. This ſucceſs enabled the allies to lay ſiege in form to Valenciennes. On the 1ſt of June general Cuſtine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes; but he deemed himſelf unequal to the taſk of rendering effectual relief to that fortreſs, before which the trenches were opened on the 14th of that month; and, towards the beginning of July, the beſiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play upon it. Mines and counter-mines innumerable were formed alſo in the courſe of this ſiege, both by the aſſailants and the garriſon; and many fierce ſubterranean conflicts were carried on with various ſucceſs. But on the night of the 25th July thoſe under the glacis and horn-work of the fortreſs were ſprung, on the part of the beſiegers, with complete ſucceſs, and the Engliſh and the Auſtrians ſeized the favourable moment for attacking the covered-way, of which they made themſelves maſters. On the next day the place ſurrendered on honorable terms of capitulation, the duke of York taking poſſeſſion of it in behalf of the emperor of Germany. Nearly at the ſame time the garriſon of Condé yielded themſelves priſoners of war, after enduring all the rigors of famine; and Mentz ſubmitted, not without a long and reſolute reſiſtance, to the arms of Pruſſia.

On the 8th of Auguſt the French were driven from the ſtrong poſition they occupied behind the Scheld, which

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was known by the name of Cæſar's Camp: after which a grand council of war was held, wherein it was determined that the Britiſh, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Heſſians, ſhould ſeparate from the Auſtrians, and form a diſtinct army, not dependent upon the co-operation of the Auſtrians. This was ſtrongly oppoſed by the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, who clearly ſaw the fatal conſequences of a ſyſtem ſo different from that which had been adopted with ſuch glorious ſucceſs by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. The Britiſh army, conducted by the duke of York, immediately decamped; and, on the 18th of Auguſt, arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where ſome ſevere conteſts took place, and the poſt of Lincelles, loſt by the Dutch, was recovered by the Engliſh, at the point of the bayonet, led on by general ſir John Lake, though very inferior in force, with a ſignal diſplay of ſpirit and intrepidity.

Moving, with little reſiſtance, towards Dunkirk, the trenches were opened before that fortreſs on the 24th; and the duke of York, having entertained a ſecret correſpondence with the governor-general, O'Moran, flattered himſelf with obtaining ſpeedy poſſeſſion of the place. On the other ſide, general Clairfait inveſted the town of Queſnoy; and the prince of Cobourg, who commanded the covering army, having defeated a body of troops which had been ſent for its relief, the place ſurrendered on the 11th of September.

With theſe achievements the ſucceſſes of the allies may be ſaid to have terminated; and Queſnoy was the extreme point of the progreſs made in the courſe of this memorable campaign by the combined powers againſt France.—We muſt now once more change the ſcene, and revert to the ſtate of affairs in England.

It is a fact moſt memorable in the hiſtory of this eventful period, that, on the ſecond of April, M. Le Brun, miniſter of foreign affairs in France, addreſſed a letter to lord

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lord Grenville, in which, ſtating that the French republic was deſirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain and to end a war dreadful to humanity, and requeſting a paſſport for a perſon veſted with full powers for that purpoſe to the court of London; and, in a ſeparate letter, he named M. Maret as the propoſed plenipotentiary of France, if this intimation produced the deſired effect. This letter was delivered to lord Grenville by a Mr. John Saller, notary-public, who formally atteſted the receipt of them from M. Le Brun. To this noble advance on the part of the French government the Britiſh miniſtry, obſtinate in their errors, paid no kind of attention. From this early conceſſion it is probable that the French perceived their miſtake in ſuppoſing (as they had, indeed, a good right to do, from the tenor of the exiſting treaty of 1786) that the diſmiſſion of the ambaſſador Chauvelin was intended by the court of London as a declaration of war; whereas it ſubſequently appeared, from the ſecret negotiation which Mr. Pitt was at the ſame time carrying on with general Dumouriez, that this famous diſmiſſion was a mere act of pride and paſſion, and by no means of deliberate and premeditated policy. It is even not improbable that, in the thoughtleſs precipitation of the moment, the ſecond article of the treaty was not at all adverted to by politicians of ſuch a deſcription as now compoſed the Britiſh cabinet. But the hopes of the enemies of France were now high and ſanguine; and although the French executive government unqueſtionably would not have made any ſuch overture in preſent circumſtances, had they not been previouſly determined to give ample ſatisfaction to England, whoſe friendſhip and ſupport muſt have been of the utmoſt conſequence to the reigning party, this conſideration had no weight with the Britiſh miniſtry, who would not even deign, in this ſecond paroxyſm of blind preſumption, to hearken to what M. Maret had to propoſe.

Far

Far from feeling the ſlighteſt inclination to encourage an overture ſo conſonant to the dictates of policy and humanity, a treaty was about this time concluded with the king of Sardinia, by which England bound herſelf not only "to furniſh to his Sardinian majeſty a ſubſidy of 200,000*l.* per annum, to be paid three months in advance," which was an article of trivial moment, but alſo "not to conclude a peace with the enemy without comprehending in it the entire reſtitution of all the dominions belonging to this monarch previous to the commencement of the war;" although it had never been pretended that it was incumbent upon Great Britain to enter into the war againſt France for any ſuch prepoſterous purpoſe.

On the re-aſſembling of parliament after the Eaſter receſs, the attention of the legiſlature was forcibly attracted by the unparalleled number and extent of the bankruptcies which had taken place ſince the commencement of the war, as the firſt bleſſed fruits of it, and the almoſt total ſtagnation and paralyſis of commercial credit. A ſelect committee was immediately appointed to report their opinion to the houſe on the beſt means of applying a remedy to this tremendous evil, which originated, as there was good reaſon to believe, in the alarm occaſioned by the invaſion of Holland. The report of the committee ſtated, that it would be adviſable to iſſue Exchequer-bills, to the amount of five millions, to commiſſioners nominated for the purpoſe, for the aſſiſtance and accommodation of ſuch mercantile perſons as may apply, and who ſhall give proper ſecurity for the ſums that may be advanced on intereſt, for a time to be limited. This mode of relief, dangerous in its ultimate tendency and liability of abuſe, was found extremely beneficial in its immediate operation, and the tide of commerce ſoon returned to its accuſtomed channel.

On the 25th of April Mr. Sheridan called the attention of the houſe to the late extraordinary memorial of lord Aukland to the States General; and made, in the courſe of

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his ſpeech, a quotation from Vattel, who ſays 'that nations at war ought carefully to abſtain from all harſh expreſſions of hatred, animoſity or contempt, of each other.'—"This rule of policy and decorum," ſaid he, "had been totally neglected by the noble lord. But the indecency of his late memorial was by no means its worſt feature: it diſcloſed a principle of war entirely new in the hiſtory of mankind, viz. *that we were entitled to take upon ourſelves the execution of the Divine vengeance*, and, if applied in its full extent, ſome millions of men muſt be put to death before we could negotiate for peace. To infer the righteouſneſs of the cauſe in which we were engaged from the partial ſucceſs we had obtained was impious and preſumptuous. We ſhould be at leaſt ſilent till we ſaw the termination of hoſtilities. Vengeance was the prerogative of the Divinity, to whom alone it ought to be left—a prerogative too high and dangerous to be arrogated or exerciſed by a being ſo limited in his powers and capacities as man." He concluded with moving an addreſs to his majeſty, expreſſive of the diſpleaſure of the houſe at the memorial in queſtion; and ſtating, that the miniſter who preſented it had departed from the principles on which the houſe had concurred in the meaſures for the ſupport of the war.

Mr. Pitt entered into an elaborate defence of lord Aukland, and uttered a vehement invective againſt the Convention; and the motion was rejected by a vaſt majority of the houſe.

Some time after this, lord Aukland being returned to England, a reſolution was moved in the houſe of peers by lord Stanhope, importing, "that the meaning and intention of the ſaid memorial was to bring the French Conventional commiſſioners delivered up by Dumouriez to trial, in order to put them to death." His lordſhip ſtyled the memorial an infamous, horrid, and diabolical paper; and ſaid, that if the reſolutions he ſhould move were carried, he ſhould think it his duty to proceed againſt lord Aukland as the author.

Lord

Lord Grenville took up the defence of lord Aukland with violence, and declared that the memorial was framed in the ſpirit, if not in the letter, of the ambaſſador's inſtructions: and he moved an amendment, pronouncing it conformable to the ſentiments of his majeſty, and conſonant to thoſe principles of juſtice and policy which it became the honor and dignity of the nation to expreſs. Lord Aukland vindicated his own memorial, and avowed it to be his opinion, "that thoſe who cauſed the death of the king of France were murderers, and that murderers ought to be brought to juſtice." And the amendment of lord Grenville was carried without a diviſion.

As the charter of the Eaſt-India Company would expire in the year 1794, it was the wiſh of very many enlightened patriots that the trade to the Eaſt Indies ſhould be thrown open, and their ſyſtem of commercial monopoly for ever deſtroyed. But Mr. Dundas, in the preſent ſeſſion, completely extinguiſhed all hopes of this nature by bringing in a bill, which ſoon after paſſed into an act, to renew the charter for twenty years, upon terms which varied little from the exiſting regulations.

On the 2d of May Mr. Grey made his promiſed and celebrated motion for a reform in the repreſentation. Many petitions were previouſly preſented to the houſe, pointing to the ſame object, but, for the moſt part, by the obnoxious mode of univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments,—the moderate reformers being almoſt univerſally converted into alarmiſts. That this popular plan of reform would be unattended by thoſe terrible conſequences which have been ſo generally apprehended is extremely probable; but the odium under which it had the misfortune to labour was a ſufficient reaſon for the judicious to abandon the idea of it. But the circumſtance moſt remarkable in theſe petitions was, that the majority of the petitioners claimed the adoption of this plan upon the principles of the duke of Richmond, as a matter of abſolute abſtract right, and not

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upon any mere ground of national utility and policy. Nothing certainly can lead to more abſurd and dangerous conſequences than the admiſſion of a claim of this nature; or, indeed, to ſuppoſe that any political right can exiſt which does not originate in political utility: but there is good reaſon to believe, that though the petitioners, in conſiſtency with their principles, could not aſk leſs than they imagined to be their undoubted and indefeaſible right, they would, for the moſt part, have been well ſatisfied with ſuch a moderate and temperate melioration of the preſent ſyſtem as would have ſufficed to attain the chief practical purpoſes of parliamentary reform.

The petition from Sheffield was ſigned by no leſs than 8000 names; from Norwich, 3700; from Birmingham, 2700; from London and Weſtminſter, 6000. But the moſt remarkable by far of the petitions of this day was that framed by the Society of the Friends of the People, and preſented to the houſe by Mr. Grey. It was of ſuch length as to take up near half an hour in reading; and it contained a moſt maſterly recapitulation of the abuſes of the preſent parliamentary ſyſtem of repreſentation, expreſſed in very dignified and correct language; and praying the houſe for an effectual reform of theſe abuſes, in animated terms, without ſpecifying any particular mode of redreſs.

"Your petitioners complain (ſay they) that the number of repreſentatives aſſigned to the different counties is groſsly diſproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

"Your petitioners complain that the elective franchiſe is ſo partially and unequally diſtributed, and is in ſo many inſtances committed to bodies of men of ſuch very limited numbers, that the majority of your honourable houſe is elected by leſs than 15,000 electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be eſtimated at ſo low a number as three millions, is not more than the two-hundreth part of the people to be repreſented.

"Your

"Your petitioners complain that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

"Your petitioners complain that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.

"Your petitioners thus distinctly state the subject-matter of their complaints, that your honourable house may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to inquire into the facts, and apply the remedy."

After a very accurate statement of the extensive mischiefs arising from these sources, they add—"Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable house to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of private parliamentary patronage—an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the house of commons, and which, in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons. Your petitioners are confident that, in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts; and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof; and if, in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustoned to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honourable house."

Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and still retains the opinion that the parliamentary representation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a state

of

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of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument. The allegations of the petition were dwelt upon by Mr. Grey with great eloquence and ability; and all the chief ſpeakers in the houſe took part in the debate, which was protracted to the unuſual length of two days. Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion for referring the petitions to a committee, upon the plauſible pretext of the danger which would, at the preſent criſis, be incurred by what he ſtyled a change in the conſtitution—holding up in terrific proſpect the events which had recently taken place in France, though between the political ſituations of the two countries there exiſted not the moſt diſtant analogy. It could not eſcape notice, that although Mr. Pitt had, from the commencement of his political career, pledged himſelf never to loſe ſight of this great object, that perfidious miniſter had, ſince his acceſſion to power ten years ſince, made only one feeble effort for its accompliſhment: and he had moreover oppoſed, almoſt invariably and with effect, every liberal meaſure which had from time to time been brought forward in parliament for the extenſion of the general ſyſtem of conſtitutional liberty; demonſtrating, by this means, the neceſſity of that radical reform which he now profeſſed ſo vehemently to deprecate. The houſe at length divided, the votes being 41 *for*, and 282 *againſt*, referring the petitions to a committee.

On the 21ſt of June (1793) the king prorogued the parliament. In his ſpeech on this occaſion his majeſty noticed the rapid and ſignal ſucceſſes which had, in an early period of the campaign, attended the operations of the combined armies; the reſpectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by ſea and land; and the meaſures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual proſecution of the war; all of which afforded the beſt proſpect of a happy iſſue to the important conteſt in which we were engaged.—But events unfortunately proved that infallibility is not one of the prerogatives of royalty.

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On the 10th of January (1793) the parliament of Ireland was convened at Dublin by the earl of Weſtmoreland, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, the ſituation of which had for ſome time paſt been gradually growing very critical. The ſanguine hopes of emancipation which the Catholics, who conſtituted three-fourths of the whole population of Ireland, had indulged at the time of the military convention at Dungannon in the year 1783 had been quickly extinguiſhed; for it manifeſtly appeared that the whole body of the Proteſtants, thoſe who were the moſt zealous for, as well as thoſe who were moſt violent againſt, the cauſe of parliamentary and political reform, were almoſt equally hoſtile to the Catholic claims. The earl of Charlemont himſelf had, in the ſtrongeſt manner, diſcountenanced them; and the Catholics, in deſpair, ſeemed to abandon their project. But on the firſt ſplendid ſucceſs of the revolution in France all their former expectations revived with increaſe of vigor; and the liberal and noble principles of government, promulgated by the National Aſſembly in its memorable Declaration of Rights, infuſed a kindred ſpirit into the minds of many who had been previouſly friends and advocates of reform on a more narrow and contracted ſcale.

Ever ſince the year 1780 the Iriſh Catholics had choſen from among themſelves a general committee of delegates, which ſat at Dublin, and whoſe province it was to watch over the intereſts of the Catholics as a diſtinct body; and a numerous aſſociation of the friends of liberty, conſiſting indiſcriminately of Proteſtants and Catholics, had recently been eſtabliſhed, under the name of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN, whoſe object it was to obtain a complete emancipation for the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament on the principles of univerſal ſuffrage and annual election.

In the preceding ſeſſion of 1792 the government had made ſome conceſſions to the Catholics, which only ſerved

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to ſhow that they were regaining ſome degree of political conſequence, and to inſpire them with the hope and belief of greater ſucceſs. By this act all legal obſtructions to the intermarriages of Catholics and Proteſtants were removed. The right of taking apprentices and of keeping ſchools was reſtored to them, and they were permitted to practiſe at the bar. But the grand code of tyranny and oppreſſion ſtill remained in force: and in a report made by a committee of the Society of United Iriſhmen to the members of it at this period, a moſt frightful picture is exhibited of the reſtrictions and diſabilities, the pains and the penalties, to which the great body of the Catholics of Ireland were ſtill liable, under the ſeveral heads of education, guardianſhip, marriage, ſelf-defence, exerciſe of religion, civil franchiſes, acquiſition and enjoyment of property.

The number and extenſive ſcope of the ſtatutes enumerated in the report were calculated to excite the aſtoniſhment, no leſs than the indignation and abhorrence, of every reflecting perſon—"Statutes," to uſe the language of the reporters, "unexampled for their inhumanity and impolicy, under the galling yoke of which the great majority of the Iriſh nation had long patiently languiſhed."—"We recogniſe," ſays this excellent report, "a free ſtate in the right exerciſed by its inhabitants of framing laws for the ſecurity of their liberty and property againſt all invaſion: but with us the order of civil aſſociation is reverſed, and the law becomes the foe, the ruffian that violates the rights and deſtroys the harmony of ſociety.—As to the favored part of the community, your committee (ſay they) conſidering that this black code, worthy of a Turkiſh divan in its expanded operations over this realm, is utterly ſubverſive of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, feel it their duty ſeriouſly to inculcate this truth, that our liberties muſt ever reſt on the moſt precarious foundation, while ſeven-eighths of our fellow-citizens remain palſied in the exerciſe of thoſe rights which were our common inheritance.—No

conſtitution

conſtitution can be ſecure unleſs the body of the people have an equal intereſt therein."

Alſo the general committee of Catholics publiſhed (March 1792) a Declaration, in the ſtrongeſt terms diſavowing and abjuring the moſt obnoxious tenets imputed to the Catholics, and ſuch as could alone, with any plauſibility, be pleaded in palliation of the dreadful rigor of the penal code—ſuch as the doctrine of the depoſition of princes by the pope; that no faith is to be kept with heretics—that men may be abſolved from the obligation of their oaths—that the pope poſſeſſes any civil authority or juriſdiction whatever within the realm; and even that the pope has any claim to the attribute of infallibility, or the power of pardoning ſins or moral offences at his will. The Declaration concludes with a moſt ſolemn renunciation of all claim or pretence to the lands forfeited by the different acts of ſettlement and attainder; and an equally ſolemn diſclaimer of any intention to ſubvert the actually ſubſiſting eſtabliſhment either in church or ſtate.

In another of their publications they thus in pathetic and moving terms invoke the juſtice and compaſſion of the legiſlative power. "Behold us before you, three millions of the people of Ireland, ſubjects of the ſame king, inhabitants of the ſame land, bound together by the ſame ſocial contract, good and loyal ſubjects to his majeſty, his crown and government, yet doomed to one unqualified incapacity—to an univerſal civil proſcription. We are excluded from the ſtate, we are excluded from the revenues, we are excluded from every diſtinction, every privilege, every office, every emolument, every civil truſt, every corporate right. We are excluded from the navy, from the army, from the magiſtrature, from the profeſſions. We are excluded from the palladium of life, liberty, and property—the juries and inqueſts of our country. From what are we not excluded? We are excluded from the conſtitution.—We moſt humbly and earneſtly ſupplicate and imp'ore parliament to call this law

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law or univerſal excluſion to a ſevere account, and now at laſt to demand of it upon what principle it ſtands of equity, of morality, of juſtice, or of policy.—We demand the ſevereſt ſcrutiny into our principles, our actions, our words, and our thoughts. Where is that people who, like us, can offer the teſtimony of an hundred years' patient ſubmiſſion to a code of laws, of which no man living is now an advocate, without ſedition, without murmur, without complaint? Our loyalty had undergone a century of ſevere perſecution for the ſake of our religion, and we have come out of the ordeal with our religion and with our loyalty. Why then are we ſtill left under the ban of our country? We differ, it is true, from the national church in ſome points of doctrinal faith—" For this," ſay theſe remonſtrants, with a juſt and decent pride, " we offer no apology. We do not exerciſe an abject or obſcure ſuperſtition. If we err, our errors have been, and ſtill are, ſanctioned by the example of many flouriſhing, learned, and civilized nations."

Adverting once more in this eloquent ſtatement of their grievances to their total and unmerited excluſion from their rights and privileges of the conſtitution, they ſay, " this excluſion is the ſource of every evil; it makes property inſecure, and induſtry precarious; it pollutes the ſtream of juſtice; it is the cauſe of daily humiliation. It is the inſurmountable barrier, the impaſſable line of ſeparation which divides the nation, and which, keeping animoſity alive, prevents the entire and cordial intermixture of the people: and therefore inevitably it is that ſome participation in the liberties and franchiſes of our country becomes the primary and eſſential object of our ardent and common ſolicitation."

As a proof of the ſincerity and integrity of the public declaration made by them of their principles, the committee of Catholics, in an admirable addreſs to the nation at large, ſtate, as perfectly coincident with their own, the opinions

opinions of the famous Catholic univerſities of the Sorbonne, Douay, Louvaine, Alcala, Salamanca, and Valladolid, which had been formally conſulted relative to the chief points now at iſſue, by the committee of Engliſh Catholics, at the expreſs deſire of the Engliſh miniſter, preparatory to the paſſing of the Engliſh Catholic Bill;—the univerſity of Louvaine, in particular, expreſſing its amazement that ſuch queſtions ſhould, at the end of the eighteenth century, be propoſed by any learned body, by the inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and diſcernment of its natives.*

The Engliſh cabinet ſeemed, in conſequence of the alarming and agitated ſtate of the country, to be fully convinced that ſome deciſive meaſures of redreſs muſt now be adopted in relation to the Catholics; and lord Weſtmoreland was inſtructed thus, in the courſe of his ſpeech to the two houſes at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, to expreſs himſelf:—"I have it in particular command from his majeſty to recommend it to you to apply yourſelves to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as may be the moſt likely to ſtrengthen and cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes and deſcriptions of his majeſty's Catholic ſubjects in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. With this

* The Queries tranſmitted to the Foreign Univerſities were as follow:

Firſt, Has the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, juriſdiction, or pre-eminence whatever, in the realm of England?

Secondly, Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, abſolve or diſpenſe with his majeſty's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance on any pretence whatſoever?

Thirdly, Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are juſtified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other perſons differing from them in religious opinions, in any tranſaction either of a public for private nature?

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that all the univerſities conſulted anſwered decidedly, and ſome of them indignantly, in the negative, to all theſe queries.

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this view his majeſty truſts that the ſituation of his majeſty's Catholic ſubjects will engage your ſerious attention, and in the conſideration of this ſubject he relies on the wiſdom and liberality of his parliament."

Early in March the expected Bill of Relief was brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. Secretary Hobart, and, in its original form, it appeared well calculated to anſwer the purpoſe intended. The influence of the executive government was in this inſtance no leſs laudably than powerfully and ſeaſonably exerted; but it had ſtrong obſtacles in the bigotry and prejudice of a great majority of the houſe to encounter. "The inveteracy of ſome," ſays a writer well informed on this ſubject, "was not to be overcome even in the agonies of their deſpair. Whatever could be ſaved to them from this wreck of their monopoly they ſecured by exceptions from the broad and liberal relief which the firſt form of the bill held out."*

Some of theſe exceptions were admitted; others were rejected. The chief enacting clauſe, enabling the Catholics to exerciſe and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of truſt or profit under the crown, was almoſt paralyzed by the ſubſequent reſtrictions,—that it ſhould not be conſtrued to extend to enable any Roman-catholic to ſit or vote in either houſe of parliament, or to fill the office of lord-lieutenant or lord-chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts of Record or Admiralty, nor keeper of the privy-ſeal, ſecretary of ſtate, lieutenant or cuſtos rotulorum of counties, nor privy-counſellor, or maſter in Chancery, nor a general on the ſtaff, nor ſheriff or ſubſheriff of any county, with a long catalogue of other diſqualifications.

Mr. Foſter, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, declared, on the ſecond reading of the bill, that he conſidered it as the prelude and certain fore-runner of the overthrow of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment. And the lord-chancellor Fitzgibbon,

* PLOWDEN'S *Twenty Months.*

bon, who was regarded as the head of the Anti-catholic party, declared, " that it was an abſurd and wicked ſpeculation to look to the total repeal of the Popery laws of that kingdom, or to endeavour to communicate the efficient power of the Proteſtants to the Catholics of Ireland. As long (ſaid his lordſhip) as the nature of man continues what it is, a zealous Catholic cannot poſſibly, or with good faith, exerciſe the powers of government in ſupport of a Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, or of the Proteſtant connection with Great Britain. If, therefore, I am the ſingle man to raiſe my voice againſt ſuch a project, I will reſiſt it."

The oppoſition of the lord-chancellor was ſeconded with great vehemence by Dr. Agar, archbiſhop of Caſhel, a prelate who had, on a former occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the memorable declaration, " that the Roman-catholic religion was a religion of knaves and fools."

The bill at length, clogged with innumerable modifications and reſtrictions, paſſed with few diſſentient voices into a law: and though it ſtopped far ſhort of Catholic emancipation, and bore no relation to parliamentary reform, it was ſuppoſed to be all that the executive government could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect; and upon this account it was received with gratitude and ſatisfaction. Mr. Curran, an eminent advocate of the Iriſh bar, and an eloquent ſpeaker in parliament, declared, in relation to the ſituation of the Catholics, " that had the petition paſſed over laſt year in contemptuous neglect by the Iriſh parliament been this year rejected by the throne, there remained only one other throne for miſery to invoke. From that laſt and dreadful appeal the country had now been ſaved by the paternal benignity of the ſovereign and father of his people." —As a farther conceſſion to the reviving ſpirit of liberty in Ireland, a Libel Bill paſſed, ſimilar to that of Mr. Fox in England; the power of the crown to grant penſions on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment was limited to the ſum of 80,000*l.*; and certain deſcriptions of placemen and penſioners were excluded

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cluded from the privilege of ſitting in the houſe of commons. Alſo the king declared his acceptance of a limited ſum, fixed at 225,000*l.* for the expences of his civil liſt, in lieu of the hereditary revenues of the crown; "a meaſure," as the ſpeaker, in his ſpeech to the lord-lieutenant at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, juſtly obſerved, "eſſential for effectuating in that kingdom a ſimilar control over the application of the public money to that which had been long eſtabliſhed in Great Britain."

On the other hand, the court was gratified by the paſſing of Alien and Traitorous Correſpondence Bills, analogous to thoſe of England; and yet more by an act of an extraordinary nature, "To prevent the election or appointment of aſſemblies, purporting to repreſent the people, or any deſcription or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or preſenting petitions, &c. to the king or either houſe of parliament, for alteration of matters eſtabliſhed by law, or redreſs of alleged grievances in church or ſtate." This act plainly indicated the apprehenſions of government that the Catholics would not be permanently ſatisfied with the conceſſions now made to them: and the meaſure in queſtion was adopted, in order to make it impracticable for them to meet in provincial or national convention. The policy, therefore, of the preſent ſeſſion was not to extinguiſh diſcontent, but to allay it for the preſent, and to repreſs the external ſymptoms of this political diſtemperature in future.

The earl of Weſtmoreland, on proroguing the parliament on the 16th Auguſt (1793), informed the two houſes, "that the wiſdom and liberality with which they had attended to his majeſty's recommendation in favor of his Roman-catholic ſubjects were highly pleaſing to the king." —That the ſentiments of the Britiſh cabinet were not, however, really favorable to the general intereſts of liberty too plainly appeared from the manner with which the powers of government were exerciſed at this time both in England and Scotland.

Notwithſtanding

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Notwithſtanding the great predominance of the ſpirit of loyalty, and the numberleſs addreſſes of duty and allegiance tranſmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect ſecurity of the government, a mean and mercileſs ſpirit of revenge diſplayed itſelf in the proſecution and puniſhment of very many petty offenders accuſed of the vague and indefinable crime of ſedition—amongſt whom were ſeveral printers and bookſellers; ſo that it became extremely dangerous to publiſh any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the meaſures of government, and the liberty of the preſs was ſilently and virtually annihilated.

The proſecutions in Scotland were of a nature more important and intereſting. The ſpirit of political reform had diffuſed itſelf very widely in that kingdom, blended, as is too frequently the caſe, with the alloy of enthuſiaſm and theoretic extravagance. A numerous aſſociation of perſons of this complexion, ſent from various towns and diſtricts, met this ſummer at Edinburgh, under the pompous title of a Convention of Delegates for obtaining Univerſal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. This was no infraction of any known exiſting law; and a ſimilar proceeding had taken place in England in the year 1780—a convention of delegates from different parts of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of obtaining a reform in parliament, meeting in London repeatedly, not only without judicial or parliamentary animadverſion, but with national approbation and applauſe—Mr. Pitt, now firſt miniſter, being himſelf a delegate to this convention.

The extreme indiſcretion of the Scottiſh aſſociation appeared, however, very manifeſt, in their affected adoption of the modes and forms eſtabliſhed in the National Aſſembly of France; and more eſpecially in their habitual uſe of the obnoxious term "Citizen." But although theſe things indicated great puerility and want of judgment, it cannot be denied that many perſons of great reſpectability, attending only or chiefly to the object in view, and regardleſs of theſe follies

follies which they no doubt diſapproved and deſpiſed, had accepted the office of delegates, and, with perfect rectitude of intention, entered as members into this aſſociation. On a ſudden, and while the legality of this conventional aſſembly was yet unqueſtioned, divers of the delegates were apprehended (Auguſt 1793) on a charge of ſedition, and brought to their trial before the High Court of Juſticiary, by whom they were found guilty upon evidence which would in the Engliſh courts have been held totally inadmiſſible, and by the judges of that deſpotic tribunal ſentenced to be tranſported beyond the ſeas for the term of fourteen years, to ſuch place as his majeſty ſhould judge proper.

Of this number were, Mr. Muir, one of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, Mr. Gerald, whoſe eloquent defect attracted much notice, Mr. Skirving, and Mr. Margarot, who were ſoon afterwards, with many circumſtances of relentleſs barbarity, conveyed in a government tranſport, with a crowd of felons of the vileſt deſcription, acroſs the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the ſettlement of Botany-Bay. The ſame hard fate awaited Mr. Palmer, an Engliſh clergyman of moral character, whoſe zeal for the diſſemination of unitarian principles in religion had induced him to fix his reſidence at Dundee, where he had opened a chapel and collected a congregation. Being a friend to political no leſs than religious liberty, this gentleman had been engaged in re-printing an addreſs to the people of Scotland on the ſubject of reform, containing many bold truths and ſome unguarded expreſſions; not, however, more cenſurable than might eaſily be found in thouſands of papers, the political ephemera of the day, which have in England paſſed altogether unnoticed.

For this offence Mr. Palmer was tried by the Circuit-court of Juſticiary, and ſentenced to ſeven years' tranſportation beyond the ſeas. The amiable qualities of the individuals who were condemned excited a general ſympathy for their ſufferings, and inſpired into the breaſts of thouſands

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ſands a perfect deteſtation of the man and the miniſter who had raiſed himſelf to power by his pretended zeal for the cauſe of parliamentary reform, and had now become the moſt implacable proſecutor of thoſe who ſtill retained the principles which he had abandoned; preferring poverty, exile, and death, to the poſſeſſion of riches and honors purchaſable only at the price of an infamous and profligate apoſtaſy. In relation to theſe trials, it was contended in vain, though with much ſtrength of legal argument, that the crime charged upon theſe gentlemen was merely that of *leaſing-making*, or public libel; the puniſhment for which, by the law of Scotland, is *baniſhment*, under which term tranſportation to a ſpecific place, which is obviouſly a ſentence of a ſeverer nature, could not be included. As the forms of procedure in the criminal courts of that kingdom are extremely arbitrary, and the evidence admitted in them to the laſt degree vague and ſlight, the puniſhment annexed ought at leaſt to be mild and moderate: but admitting the charges againſt the preſent delinquents to be fully proven, the ſentence paſſed upon them was ſo diſproportionate to their guilt, that the whole tranſaction was calculated to excite, and in fact it did excite, general indignation and horror, not in Britain only, but throughout Europe. "The trial of the Scottiſh advocate, T. Muir," ſays a reſpectable German writer, "who, for various endeavours to effect a reform of the parliament of his country, was condemned to be tranſported to Botany-Bay, muſt excite in the breaſt of every German an eſteem for his native land. We here ſee a man ſent to Botany-Bay on account of an accuſation to which a German court of juſtice would have been aſhamed to liſten."*

The military operations of the autumnal months of the campaign remain to be narrated. In a ſeſſion of the French Convention, held Auguſt 16th, the energetic and fertile

* Altona Journal, A. D. 1794. No. 3.

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genius of Barrere conceived the ſublime project of exciting the whole people of France to riſe *en maſſe* to expel the invaders from their territory: and by the unremitted exertions of the Committee of Public Safety, this plan, in appearance ſo chimerical, was regularly digeſted, and the new levies organized with ſingular diſpatch and ability.

On the 25th of Auguſt the duke of York, with his army, arrived before Dunkirk, after waiting long for the train of artillery from England neceſſary for the ſiege. During the delay a ſecret correſpondence, carried on by the duke with general O'Moran, governor of the place, was diſcovered; O'Moran was diſmiſſed, and afterwards ſuffered for his treachery; and the garriſon was augmented by a reinforcement of 12,000 veteran troops. The deſign was therefore hopeleſs. The works were, however, carried on, though with trivial effect, till the 6th of September on which day the covering army, commanded by the Hanoverian field-marſhal Freytag, was unexpectedly attacked and totally routed by a large body of troops ſuddenly collected by general Houchard; the marſhal himſelf and prince Adolphus, ſon of the king of England, were taken priſoners, though afterwards reſcued. A grand ſortie was at the ſame time attempted by the garriſon with complete ſucceſs, and the duke of York was compelled on the 7th to raiſe the ſiege with the greateſt precipitation, ſuffering very great loſs in his retreat, or, to ſpeak more properly, *flight*. The fine train of heavy artillery from England was only landed to be loſt—no leſs than 114 pieces falling into the hands of the enemy. The French government, however, far from being ſatisfied with what was effected, charged the general, M. Houchard, with culpable negligence, in not cutting off the retreat of the Engliſh army altogether, as it was generally allowed he might with much facility have done: and being denounced by the Jacobin party, he ſuffered by the ſevere ſentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal. What was ſtill more extraordinary, general Cuſtine,

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tine, who had ſignalized himſelf by very brilliant exploits during the former and the preſent campaign on the banks of the Rhine, met with the ſame cruel fate for not attempting, by ſome grand and deciſive effort, the relief of Valenciennes. The world ſtood amazed at theſe inſtances of republican ferocity, and it was imagined by thoſe who were ignorant of the ſprings by which human nature is actuated, that no general of talents would be found to aſſume in future the command of the French armies: but events ſoon demonſtrated the groſſneſs of this miſtake. In fact, when ſo much was exacted, none but thoſe who felt the conſciouſneſs of ſuperior genius, combined with heroic courage, could venture to undertake ſo perilous a truſt.

The French army of the North now took a ſtrong poſition, under general Jourdain, the ſucceſſor of Houchard and Cuſtine, near the town of Maubeuge, in the blockade of which the allies were engaged with their whole recollected force under the prince of Cobourg. On the 15th of October the enemy made a grand attack upon the army of the prince with ſuch vigor and effect as to compel that able commander to abandon his chain of poſts and repaſs the Sambre. General Jourdain was by this means at liberty to ſend detachments, in various directions, to Maritime Flanders, where they took poſſeſſion, with little reſiſtance, of Werwick, Menin, and Furnes. They then proceeded to Nieuport, which was ſaved only by having recourſe to the deſperate expedient of an inundation, and Oſtend itſelf was thought not free from danger.

Early in the month of September, Landau had been inveſted by the combined powers; but that important fortreſs being covered and protected by the French army poſted, under general Irembert, at Weiſſemburg on the Lauter, general Wurmſer, the Auſtrian commander, on the 13th of October made a grand attack upon the lines, which were carried, with the towns of Lauterburg and Weiſſemburg, after a comparatively feeble reſiſtance. The French

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retreated with precipitation, and the forts of Haguenau and Vauban were ſucceſſively reduced by general Wurmſer. In the beginning of November the Conventional commiſſioners, St. Juſt and Le Bas, arrived for the purpoſe of encouraging and re-organizing the troops. They ordered immenſe reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and, to afford a third example of what they ſtyled ſalutary ſeverity, general Irembert, charged with treachery in the affair of Weiſſemburg, was ſentenced to be ſhot at the head of the army. General Hoche, who, as commander of the army of the Moſelle, had checked the progreſs of the duke of Brunſwic, now advanced to ſuſtain the army of the Rhine under general Pichegru; and theſe two heroes, who were oppoſed by the equal bravery and ſkill of the veteran Wurmſer, performed in conjunction prodigies of valor. At length the Auſtrian commander, overpowered by ſuperior force, was compelled ſlowly and reluctantly to relinquiſh his conqueſts; and, after a continued ſeries of the moſt obſtinate conflicts, the Republican army, on the 27th of December, entered Weiſſemburg in triumph, the Imperialiſts retreating behind the Rhine, and the duke of Brunſwic haſtily falling back to cover the city of Mentz. The ſiege of Landau was immediately raiſed, and Keiſarſlautern, Germerſheim, and Spires, were repoſſeſſed by the French troops.

Notwithſtanding the very ſerious aſpect which the rebellion in La Vendée had for a time worn, the efforts of the Convention were eminently ſucceſsful alſo in that quarter. The character of the inſurgents, who were the devoted adherents of CHURCH and KING, was made up of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and barbarity. It was ſaid that they mingled the ſacramental wine with the blood of their adverſaries, and adminiſtered it to the people. On one of their captured ſtandards, preſented to the Convention, was embroidered, on one ſide the figure of a biſhop in his pontificals, and on the reverſe the Virgin Mary with an infant Jeſus.

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Jeſus. General Charette, their commander, aſſaulted the city of Nantz while the citizens were celebrating the civic feaſt of the 10th of Auguſt, but was vigorouſly repulſed; after which the inſurgents were defeated in a variety of engagements madly conteſted with the generals Weſterman, Beyſſer, and Roſſignol; and at the end of October they no longer appeared in any conſiderable force. An expedition had been planned by the Britiſh government, but with many concomitant and characteriſtic circumſtances of incoherence and imbecility, for the purpoſe of co-operating with the royaliſts on the coaſts of Britanny, and the command entruſted to an officer of high and approved merit, the earl of Moira. But this was only a ſecondary object with the Engliſh cabinet, who ſtrained every nerve to exhibit to the beſt advantage the military talents of the duke of York at the head of a numerous army in Flanders—loſing the opportunity, never to be retrieved, of ſtriking a mortal blow into the vitals of France on the oppoſite quarter. At length, on the 1ſt of December, when the inſurrection was in a manner ſubdued, the Britiſh armament ſailed from Portſmouth, and early the next morning they made the coaſt of Normandy near Cherbourg; but not one of the concerted ſignals was anſwered from the ſhore; upon which his lordſhip retired to Guernſey, where he learned from undoubted intelligence the diſcomfiture and diſperſion of the royaliſts, upon whom the vengeance of the Convention, by this time wholly Jacobinical, was exerciſed with the moſt ſavage and wicked ferocity. To the proceedings of this famous aſſembly, ſince the æra of the trial and execution of the king, it is now become neceſſary to advert.

On the 15th of February, 1793, the plan of a new conſtitution, on pure republican principles, was preſented to the Convention by M. Condorcet, a leader of the Briſſotine faction, in a report from the committee appointed for that important purpoſe. As the plan in queſtion was univerſally regarded by all perſons, of all parties, as altogether viſionary and

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and impracticable, it is ſuperfluous to dwell upon the defects of it. The moſt ſtriking feature of this extraordinary model of a perfect government was, that the members of the council in which the executive power was propoſed to be veſted were to be elected by the people at large; and it was apparent that the whole was the dream of a theoriſt. This failure was particularly unfortunate, as it left all the powers of government, executive, legiſlative, and judicial, ſtill to be exerciſed without control by the Conventional Aſſembly, in which the Jacobins were continually gaining ground upon their adverſaries.

In the month of March the celebrated Revolutionary Tribunal, for deciding upon offences againſt the ſtate, was organiſed. This dreadful court conſiſted of ſix judges, to be elected by a majority of voices in the aſſembly, to whom were joined a public accuſer and two aſſiſtants. The ſentence of this court was wholly arbitrary, and without appeal; and the crimes on which it was to pronounce were vague, undefined, and undefinable—ſeeming to comprehend not merely the actions but the words, and even, by a horrid mockery of juſtice, the thoughts and moſt ſecret intentions, of thoſe ſuſpected of diſaffection.

On the 1ſt of April a decree, fatal in its conſequences to the Girondiſt or Briſſotine party, was paſſed, aboliſhing the inviolability of the deputies of the Convention when accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate. In the ſame month the powers of the Committee of Public Safety were ſo much enlarged, that the Executive Council became mere cyphers in the government. The chiefs of the Briſſotines appeared to be aſtoniſhed and confounded at theſe daring and deſperate meaſures of their inveterate adverſaries, confident in their proweſs and popularity, and made no vigorous oppoſition to decrees evidently intended to pave the way to their deſtruction. Nearly at the ſame time it was reſolved that the branches of the royal family remaining in France ſhould be detained as hoſtages for the ſafety of general Bournonville and the arreſted deputies;

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deputies; and that, excepting those confined in the Temple, all the Bourbons should be removed to Marseilles. In this decree the duke of Orléans, though a member of the Convention, and although he had courted popularity by the most degrading and criminal sacrifices, was included.

On the 10th of May the republic was, in opposition to the favourite ideas and secret efforts of the Brissotines, who preferred a federal government, upon the plan of that established in America, declared ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. It was now manifest that the Girondists, so inferior to their antagonists in vigor and decision, and even, notwithstanding the intellectual and literary accomplishments of the leaders of the party, grosly deficient in practical talents for government, must finally sink under the contest, of which they were unequal to the management. On the 13th of May M. Condorcet proposed, that the present Convention should be dissolved, and a new Convention chosen on the 1st of November next: but this being violently opposed, the Brissotines, dreading to come to extremities, weakly consented to an adjournment of the motion. On the 18th of May, M. Guadet, insisting that the Convention was no longer free in Paris, and that the power of the state was passing into the hands of the anarchists, moved, much too late to produce any effect, the decisive proposition that the sittings of the Convention be removed to Bourges, and all the constituted authorities of Paris should be broken and dissolved. M. Barrère recommended the appointment of a committee to enquire into the evils complained of, which was, by the pusillanimous compromise of the Girondists, decreed by the Convention.

These half-measures of the Brissotine party only increased the rage and excited the contempt of the Jacobins—accelerating, in all probability, the catastrophe which almost immediately ensued. The city of Paris, in consequence of the violence of the two parties in the Convention, was kept in a state of extreme agitation, and scarcely could the inhabitants

inhabitants of that lawleſs metropolis be reſtrained from a renewal of the dreadful ſcenes lately acted there. The ſucceſſive ſittings of the Convention till the 31ſt exhibited a ſhocking picture of tumult and confuſion. Very early on the morning of that day the tocſin was ſounded, the *générale* beaten, and the alarm-gun fired. Terror pervaded every breaſt. At ſeven o'clock the Convention met, and ſoon a deputation appeared at the bar from the Revolutionary Committees, demanding, amongſt various other things, the immediate arreſt of Clavière, miniſter of finance, and Le Brun, of foreign affairs. The department of Paris next appeared, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt Briſſot, Guadet, Roland, Iſnard, Vergniaud, and many others of the moſt diſtinguiſhed note in the Gironde party. M. Barrère, who had with infinite art and addreſs vibrated between the two factions, now took a decided part with the Jacobins, and, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, propoſed that the accuſed deputies ſhould be invited to ſuſpend themſelves from their functions. With this the major part of them complied; and in a ſhort time being inveſted with an armed force, and cannon planted at the avenues, a decree paſſed the Convention, ordering the arreſt of the deputies, with the miniſters Clavière and Le Brun.

After the public commotions had in ſome degree ſubſided, the firſt ſtep of the triumphant party was to frame the model of a new conſtitution, which thoſe who were in the actual poſſeſſion of power, as might alſo be ſuſpected of the Briſſotines, would probably not appear in too much haſte to carry into effect. In about a month the completion of the expected conſtitution was announced, conſiſting of no leſs than 124 articles, which, after a very ſlight diſcuſſion, was recogniſed by the Convention as the Conſtitutional Act. But as the execution of this act was ſuſpended during the revolutionary criſis, and never ſubſequently revived, it may, like the former, be ſuffered quietly to paſs into oblivion.

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oblivion. Yet was this Jacobine conſtitution generally regarded as leſs eſſentially defective than that of M. Condorcet. Population was, agreeably to the principles of it, the ſole baſis of repreſentation, the election of members annual, and the right of ſuffrage univerſal. The Legiſlative Body propoſes the plan of laws, which are tranſmitted for confirmation or rejection to the ſeveral departments. The Executive Council, conſiſting of twenty-four members, is choſen by the legiſlature from a liſt compoſed of one nominee from each department; and half the number is renewed by each legiſlature in the laſt month of the ſeſſion. The judicial power to be exerciſed by perſons to be elected yearly by the Electoral Aſſemblies.

The tranſactions of the 31ſt of May cauſed a great ſhock throughout the nation, and France ſeemed ready to fall a prey to the diſtractions which, at this fatal period, afflicted the new-created republic. Various of the accuſed deputies effected their eſcape to different parts of the country which ſeemed well diſpoſed to riſe in ſupport of the authority of the Convention; but the city of Paris and the ſoldiery remained firm to the government party. The department of Calvados was the firſt in arms; and, about the beginning of July, a conſiderable force had aſſembled, which aſſumed the appellation of the Departmental Army, under the direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, &c.: but on their approach to Evreux, they were encountered by the national troops, and ſoon broken and diſperſed, moſt of the deputies being made priſoners. An inſurrection alſo took place in the department of the Gironde, excited by their own proſcribed repreſentatives, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Guadet, &c. which was alſo quickly ſuppreſſed. But by far the moſt formidable reſiſtance to the reigning faction took place in the ſouth, where the three great cities, Lyons, Marſeilles, and Toulon, entered into a ſort of federal league, and ſeemed to menace the diſſolution of the exiſting authorities.

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A ſtrong force was diſpatched againſt them, under general Carteaux, about the end of July; and in the beginning of Auguſt the Marſeillois were driven from the department of Vaucluſe, and on the 24th the republicans captured the town of Aix; after which Marſeilles threw open its gates and ſubmitted. But the people of Toulon and the French admiral Trugoff entered into a negotiation with the Engliſh admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruizing in the Mediterranean; and he took poſſeſſion both of the town and the ſhipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the expreſs and poſitive ſtipulation that he was to aſſiſt in reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789.

In the mean time general Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, was diſpatched againſt Lyons, which contained an immenſe and motley multitude of diſaffected citizens of all claſſes—Girondiſts, royaliſts, and conſtitutional monarchiſts. The city ſuſtained, for more than ſeven weeks, a cloſe and vigilant blockade, and was gradually reduced to a ſtate of extreme diſtreſs. Kellerman, not being deemed ſufficiently zealous in the cauſe, was ſuperſeded by a general Doppet, to whom the city, now become an heap of ruins, ſurrendered on the 8th of October. The barbarities exerciſed upon the inhabitants after the ſurrender, by order of the Conventional commiſſioners, ſhock all the feelings of humanity, and almoſt ſurpaſs the limits of credibility. The guillotine was conſidered as an inſtrument of too ſlow an operation; numbers were deſtroyed by grape-ſhot diſcharged from artillery; and others crowded together in barks, and ſunk in the river, which, in Jacobine language, was ſtyled "the revolutionary torrent of the Rhône." After they had ſatiated themſelves with blood and ſlaughter, a decree paſſed the Convention, by which the wall and public buildings of the city were ordered to be deſtroyed, and the name of the city itſelf, by a ſarcaſm worthy of ſuch an aſſembly, changed to that of "Ville Affranchie."

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The ſiege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marſeilles. On the 8th of September general Carteaux arrived at the paſſes of Olioulles, and the city was formally inveſted. After various encounters, in which the beſiegers and the beſieged were alternately ſucceſsful, general Carteaux was removed into Italy, and general Dagobert aſſumed the command about the beginning of November. Nearly at the ſame time general O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with conſiderable reinforcements, compoſed of various nations. On the 30th of November the garriſon made a vigorous ſally under general O'Hara in perſon, with a view to deſtroy ſome batteries upon the heights near the city. The French troops were ſurpriſed, and fled; but the victors, purſuing the enemy too far, fell in with a formidable force ſent to cover the retreat of the fugitives. The allies fled in their turn, and general O'Hara being wounded, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. On the morning of the 19th of December the French attacked, with enthuſiaſtic impetuoſity, the forts L'Eguillette and Balaguier, which command the city, and made themſelves maſters of both with great ſlaughter. A reſolution was immediately taken to evacuate the place, which was executed not without extreme danger and difficulty. The town was bombarded from noon till ten in the evening, during which preparations were making for a general embarkation, the wretched inhabitants crowding to the ſhores, and demanding the promiſed protection of the Engliſh. But though great efforts were made, and thouſands conveyed on board the ſhipping, thouſands more were left to ſuffer all that the rage and vengeance of their countrymen could inflict. The ſtores, and the men of war in the harbour, were ſet on fire, threatening every inſtant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. Three ſhips of the line only, of thirty-one in the harbour, were all that the Britiſh admiral was able to carry away, amidſt the

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the appalling cries of agony and deſtruction which completed the horror of the ſcene.

Such were the fruits of the firſt continental campaign in which England took an active ſhare. The ſoul ſickens at the view.—The defenceleſs and abandoned royaliſts every where vanquiſhed and butchered; the energy of the French arms triumphing in every quarter; and the armies of the allies driven back with unheard-of ſlaughter, traverſing with giant ſtrides the ground which by inches they had won, and with inceſſant labour.

Scarcely had the ſavage and brutal faction of the Jacobins acquired a complete aſcendency, than Marie Antoinette, late queen of France, was removed from the Temple to the common priſon of the Conciergerie, where ſhe remained till ſhe was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 15th of October. The main charge againſt her, under a variety of heads, was founded upon her continued and diverſified attempts to effect a counter-revolution. A remarkable and very characteriſtic circumſtance was ſtated in one of the articles of accuſation, "that on the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, the day of the attack upon the caſtle of the Tuilleries, ſhe kept the Swiſs guards in a ſtate of intoxication, and preſenting the king with a piſtol, ſhe ſaid, "This is the moment to ſhew yourſelf;" on his refuſal calling him "COWARD!" After an hour's conſultation the jury brought her in guilty of all the charges. The queen, on hearing the verdict pronounced, fixed her eyes ſtedfaſtly on the ground, from which ſhe never was obſerved to raiſe them more. The fortitude and dignity with which ſhe conducted herſelf on her trial did not forſake her to the laſt. In her degraded and forlorn eſtate ſhe might indeed conſider death leſs as a puniſhment than as a releaſe; and, on the day following, ſhe expiated her errors and frailties, whatever they might be, with calm reſignation, on the public ſcaffold, and on the ſame ſpot where Louis XVI. had previouſly ſuffered. This unhappy princeſs, whoſe faults

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are abſorbed in pity for her fate, poſſeſſed in the moſt critical ſituations great firmneſs of reſolution, not a ſingle particle of which could ſhe by any effort infuſe into the mind of the king her huſband; but ſhe was equally deſtitute of thoſe intellectual talents which command reſpect, as of the ſofter virtues, more appropriate to her ſex, which conciliate and engage affection.

The fate of the unfortunate deputies of the Gironde party was deferred from time to time, till the complete overthrow of their adherents in the departments ſhould give ſecurity to their proſecutors, and afford the proper materials for their conviction. On the 24th of October the trial commenced before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was on this occaſion crowded with anxious ſpectators. The perſons accuſed were Briſſot, Vergniaud, Valazé, Sillery, Fauchet, Fronfrède, Laſource, Genſonné, and fourteen others of inferior note. It is remarkable, that among the crimes laid to their charge was that of having cauſed war to be declared, firſt againſt Auſtria, and afterwards againſt England and Holland. As, at the different periods alluded to, the Girondiſts were the ruling party in the ſtate, the charge was doubtleſs in a certain ſenſe true; and, as France ſufficiently felt the evils reſulting from the war, it perfectly anſwered the inſidious purpoſe of the Jacobins to repreſent it as occaſioned by the erroneous or criminal politics of the Briſſotines, who, in their turn, did not ſcruple to retort the charge upon the Jacobins, as the perſons whoſe clamour and violence made theſe ſeveral declarations unavoidable. The plain truth is, that both parties concurred in both inſtances, and that the ſucceſſive declarations in queſtion were at the time regarded by all France, and not without ſtrong colour of reaſon, as juſt and neceſſary: and this reciprocation of reproach was manifeſtly no other than the malignant effuſion of an inveterate and infuriate ſpirit of faction. But the article on which they were convicted was, the having conſpired againſt

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againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, and exciting a rebellion in the departments of the South, and in that of Calvados. Valazé ſtabbed himſelf as ſoon as he heard the ſentence pronounced. The remaining one and twenty deputies were, on the 30th of October, conveyed from the priſon to the Place de la Revolution, and there executed—meeting their fate with the utmoſt fortitude, and many of them, actuated by the nobleſt ſentiments of patriotiſm, exclaiming, under the fatal axe of the guillotine, "*Vive la République!*"

Theſe horrid executions were ſucceeded by a vaſt number of others equally abhorrent to every principle of juſtice and humanity;—for the moſt part it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſtate upon what pretences; though the real fact doubtleſs was, that the victims ſingled out by revenge or ſuſpicion were ſacrificed in conſequence of their attachment to the vanquiſhed party. In the direful catalogue were found the names of Manuel, preſident of the Commune of Paris; the brave and veteran general Luckner; the learned and philoſophic Bailly; the young and amiable Barnave; the virtuous Rabaut de St. Etienne; and, to mention no more, the celebrated and accompliſhed madame Roland, wife of the miniſter of that name, who himſelf indeed, with Petion, Le Brun, Condorcet, and ſome others, eſcaped the ſcaffold, but terminated their lives no leſs miſerably in various modes. France now began to wear a face of univerſal horror; and, amongſt the tygers in human ſhape who polluted the air which they breathed and the land on which they trod, the deteſtable name of Robeſpierre became about this period incomparably the moſt conſpicuous in infamy. Amid the innumerable ſacrifices made by the infernal Revolutionary Tribunal, there was one which ſeemed to ſhed a pale gleam of pleaſure over the deep and dreadful gloom—this was the execution of Philip duke of Orléans, whoſe character was made up of an aſſemblage of vices and crimes, without the intervention of one ſingle ſolitary virtue. He poſſeſſed not, according

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to common opinion, even the courage almoſt inſeparable from high birth, and which gives, when carried to a certain pitch of elevation, a ſort of fictitious luſtre to villany. Finding his fate inevitable, he ſuffered nevertheleſs with apparent compoſure, amid the inſults and reproaches of the populace.

As if eager at this period to carry every ſpecies of extravagance to the height, the National Convention, if the remnant of the national repreſentation which ſtill retained their ſeats in the aſſembly could merit that appellation, ſeemed on the ſudden ſeized with the wildeſt phrenzy of impiety. On the 7th of November, Gobet, the republican biſhop of Paris, with his grand-vicars and various other unworthy members of the eccleſiaſtical body, entered the hall of the Convention, and ſolemnly reſigned their functions, renouncing, in terms of profane contempt, their profeſſion as Chriſtians, amidſt loud acclamations of applauſe. By a decree of the Commune of Paris, the churches were ſhut up, and a number of allegorical divinities, Liberty, Equality, &c. were conſecrated as objects of worſhip; and a painted harlot was publicly enthroned in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame in the character of the goddeſs of Reaſon. The obſervance of the Sunday, that antient and venerable inſtitution, and even the æra in uſe for fifteen centuries throughout Chriſtendom, were aboliſhed, and a new calendar ſubſtituted analogous to that of Greece, agreeably to which the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days ſet apart as a ſort of Saturnalian feſtival; each month being divided into decades, and a reſpite from labour allowed on the tenth day.

The example of the biſhop of Paris ſeemed to excite an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of emulation. Lequinio and Laignelot, deputies of the Convention, wrote to that aſſembly from Rochefort, Oct. 2. "We paſs from miracle to miracle—Eight prieſts of the Catholic perſuaſion, and one miniſter of the Proteſtant church, diſrobed themſelves on the day of

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of the laſt decade, in preſence of the whole people in the Temple of Truth, heretofore called the Pariſh Church of this town. In this place there will no longer exiſt more than one mode of preaching morality---but one repoſitory for the remains of the dead, whoſe reſurrection has been perpetually preached by ſuperſtition for the torment of the living."

Boiſſet, another commiſſioner in the department of Ardéche, ſays, "Fanaticiſm is deſtroyed! The altars of Chriſtianity are replaced by altars more holy."---Julien of Toulouſe, a member of the Convention, and a miniſter of the Proteſtant church for twenty years, publicly, in the midſt of that aſſembly, renounced his functions for ever.—"I declare," ſaid he, "that I will no longer enter into any other temple than the ſanctuary of the laws; that I will acknowledge no other divinity than Liberty, no other worſhip than that of my country, no other Goſpel than the Republican Conſtitution." Dumont, one of the National Commiſſioners, announced to the Convention, "that, in order to deſtroy fanaticiſm, he arreſts all prieſts who celebrate religious ceremonies on Sundays." Even the exiſtence of Chriſt, as a real perſon, was diſputed by the ingenuity, or rather the effrontery, of modern infidelity; and M. Volney, in his admired work, RUINES de les EMPIRES, ſcrupled not to ſtyle 'Chriſtianiſme'—culte allegorique du Soleil, ſous les noms cabaliſtiques de Chriſ-en ou Yeſ-us."*

In alluſion to the monſtrous tranſactions of this portentous period, a moſt eloquent and energetic writer has obſerved, "that the reign of atheiſm in France was avowed the reign of terror. In the full madneſs of their career, in the higheſt climax of their horrors, they ſhut up the temples of God, aboliſhed his worſhip, and proclaimed death to be an eternal ſleep:—in the very centre of Chriſtendom, Revelation

* TACITUS gives an account ſomewhat different:—"Auctor nominis ejus CHRISTUS qui, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Annal. 15. § 44.

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velation underwent a total eclipſe, while atheiſm, performing on a darkened theatre its ſtrange and fearful tragedy, confounded the firſt elements of ſociety, blended every age, rank, and ſex, in indiſcriminate proſcription and maſſacre, and convulſed all Europe to its centre, that the imperiſhable memorial of theſe events might teach the laſt generations of mankind to conſider religion as the pillar of ſociety, the parent of ſocial order, and the ſafe-guard of nations."*

It is wonderful that, amid the horrors of this diſmal period, while "the death-dance of democratic revolution" was ſtill in rapid movement, amongſt the tears of affliction, and the cries of deſpair, "the maſque, the ſong, the theatric ſcene, the buffoon laughter, went on as regularly as in the gay hour of feſtive peace."† The picture which enraptured ſpeculatiſts had once delighted to draw of the glorious and happy effects of this unparalleled revolution was now enveloped in impenetrable gloom, and the flattering deluſions of hope had vaniſhed as the unſubſtantial colors of the gilded bow; while the enemies and detractors of the fair form of Freedom, now lying proſtrate in the duſt, exclaimed, "That out of the tomb of a murdered monarchy had ariſen a vaſt tremendous unformed ſpectre, in a guiſe far more terrific than had ever before appalled the imagination and ſubdued the fortitude of man."

The manners of Robeſpierre, who in a ſhort time acquired an abſolute aſcendency in the Convention, were uniformly gloomy and auſtere. Laborious, ſuſpicious, iraſcible, vindictive, imperious, Barrère termed him "the giant of the revolution.—My aſtoniſhed genius," ſaid he, "trembles before his."

M. Garat, ſpeaking of his own interceſſion with Robeſpierre in behalf of the impriſoned Girondiſts, ſays: "Je vis à l'inſtant qu'il mettoit lui ſon orgueil, ſon triomphe, et ſa grandeur, à écraſer impitoyablement ſes ennemis:

* Hall's Sermon on Modern Infidelity.

† Burke's 'Regicide Peace.'

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mis :—Je vis à l'inſtant que lui ne trouvoit ſa ſureté que dans le deſtruction de tous ceux qui lui inſpiroient des craintes."* The figure of this extraordinary man is deſcribed as mean and inſignificant, his countenance ſallow and diſguſting; but ſuch was his eloquence, that, when he roſe to ſpeak, his perſonal defects were in a manner forgotten. His voice, which in common converſation was weak and tremulous, in the Tribune acquired the moſt commanding tone and animated expreſſion; his whole aſpect became impoſing, and his eyes ſeemed to flaſh ſparkles of fire. Under the reign of this ferocious tyrant there was under every footſtep a mine, in every houſe a ſpy, on every bench of juſtice an aſſaſſin. From the Var to the Moſelle, from the Pyrénées to the Ardennes, Terror reared her gorgon creſt, and the hearts of all were frozen with conſternation.

Such has long been the vaſt ſuperiority of the naval power of England, that, in every war waged for more than a century paſt, maritime conqueſts ſeem regarded by the Engliſh nation almoſt as a matter of courſe. This expectation was not diſappointed in the preſent war, conducted even by thoſe weak and incapable miniſters who ſo unneceſſarily and unjuſtifiably plunged the country into it. The valuable iſland of Tobago was taken, by a Britiſh ſquadron under admiral Laforey, about the beginning of April. From an early period of the French revolution the Weſt-India iſlands belonging to France, and particularly St. Domingo, had been agitated and convulſed by the revolutionary ſpirit, and by premature and injudicious attempts to confer the rights of free citizens in that part of the globe upon the "gens de couleur," who conſtitute a large proportion of the inhabitants. In conſequence of the violence of the internal commotions in that extenſive iſland, which had become a ſcene of dreadful deſolation and bloodſhed, the ſettlements of Fort Jérémie and Cape Nicola-Mole were ſurren dered

* Mémoires de Garat, p. 57.

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ſurrendered to the Engliſh about the latter end of the ſummer. The iſlands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, in the Gulf of St. Laurence, were given up at the firſt ſummons. Early intelligence of the war being alſo tranſmitted to the Eaſt Indies, Pondicherri, Mahé, and the other French ſettlements on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar were captured, with little reſiſtance, by the troops of the India Company, under the conduct of general Stewart.

It is remarkable, that although the chief complaint againſt the French government, on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry, was founded on its invaſion of the rights of neutral powers, thoſe very miniſters had no ſooner engaged in the war, than, with unbluſhing effrontery, they adopted the moſt violent meaſures to compel the powers ſtill remaining neutral to *fraterniſe* with England. Mr. Drake, the Britiſh envoy at Genoa, peremptorily inſiſted upon an immediate and unqualified declaration of hoſtility on the part of that republic againſt France. But the Genoeſe government, with equal ſpirit and dignity, replied, "That if the republic were to be forced from her neutrality, ſhe never would take part with thoſe who had threatened her with ſuch unprovoked injuſtice."—Lord Hervey, envoy at Florence, took upon him, no doubt in conformity with his inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the diſmiſſion of M. de la Flotte, the French ambaſſador, in twenty-four hours; and with this demand the grand-duke, who had demonſtrated a moſt decided inclination for peace, knowing the ſtrict connexion ſubſiſting between the king of Great Britain and his brother the emperor, was compelled to comply; and war was declared by him againſt France on the 10th of October.

A very memorable declaration was, towards the cloſe of the year (October 29), publiſhed by the court of London, profeſſing to ſtate to the world in general, and to the people of France in particular, the ſentiments and views of the king of Great Britain in the preſent criſis of affairs. The

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language of the declaration is ſpecious and inſidious, bearing the ſtamp of talents far ſuperior to thoſe employed in the correſpondence with M. Chauvelin. "His majeſty," it is ſaid, "by no means diſputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wiſh to employ the influence of external force with reſpect to the particular form of government to be eſtabliſhed in an independent country. Neither has he now that wiſh, except in ſo far as ſuch interference is become eſſential to the ſecurity and repoſe of other powers. Under theſe circumſtances he demands from France, and he demands with juſtice, the termination of a ſyſtem of anarchy which has no force but for the purpoſes of miſchief. The king demands that ſome legitimate and ſtable government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, founded on the acknowledged principles of univerſal juſtice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accuſtomed relations of union and peace. It is for theſe objects that he calls upon the people of France to join the ſtandard of an hereditary monarchy, not for the purpoſe of deciding, in this moment of diſorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be ſuſceptible, but in order to unite themſelves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion."

Under this plauſible but ambiguous language, ſo different from that which emanated a few months before from the wiſdom and juſtice of the prince of Cobourg, the court of London, while ſhe *ſeemed* to promiſe extremely fair, left herſelf, *in fact*, at full liberty to act as ſhe pleaſed, conformably to the ſuggeſtion of her intereſt or her caprice—prompted only by the varying impulſe of the "exiſting circumſtances." The king of England did not even pledge himſelf not to concur in the partition or diſmemberment of the reſtored monarchy when the ſeaſon of general tranquillity arrived. The Declaration only ſays:—"The king would propoſe none other but equitable and moderate conditions;

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ditions; not such as the expenses, the risk, and the sacrifices, of the war might justify, but such as his majesty thinks himself under the indispensable necessity of requiring with a view to his own security and the future tranquillity of Europe." And who would venture to pronounce what these might amount to, should victory attend the arms of the allies confederated in so holy and so just a cause?—To speak gravely, it is no wonder that a performance thus abounding in art, and thus deficient in clearness and candour, should produce no sensible effect on even that part of the French nation (and it was certainly at this period a very large and respectable part) which wished for the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy.

The scheme, equally vile and visionary, of starving France into submission, which was begun before any declaration of hostility was made on either side, in palpable violation and defiance of a subsisting treaty of amity and commerce, and even while the last perfidious professions of perfect neutrality were quivering on the lips of the English ministry, was pursued by the court of London, at this period, with unrelenting malignity. During the sitting of the diet at Ratisbon this year, the minister of Hanover presented a rescript to that assembly, stating, "That notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition of the export of grain to France, the trade is still carried on to the essential service of the enemy; but that it was now ordered at Stade that every Hamburgh vessel should be inspected by the guard-ships. The Hamburgh merchants," the rescript goes on to complain, "made a futile evasion, in saying that the Imperial prohibition had not yet been published at Hamburgh; notwithstanding its publicity could not be doubted, it having appeared in the Directory of the Lower Saxon Circle, and was certainly communicated to the magistrates of Hamburgh." These worthy citizens, who had received no injury from France, doubtless felt not only some chagrin for the loss of their commerce, but some reluctance

luctance to heighten the miſeries of a great nation, whoſe reſentment they might one day feel, by adding the horrors of famine to the devouring rage of foreign and domeſtic war.

On the 6th of November a moſt alarming order was iſſued, by the king in council, to all ſhips of war and letters of marque, "that they ſhall ſtop and detain all ſhips laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, *or carrying proviſions or other ſupplies for the uſe of ſuch colony*, and ſhall bring the ſame, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in the courts of Admiralty." This ſtruck at the root of the regular and lawful commerce carried on between the American States and the French Weſt-Indian iſlands, and could be regarded in no other light than as an act of robbery as violent and unjuſt upon the high ſeas as any that could be committed on the high-ways. It was, however, revoked, after a vaſt number of captures had been made under its authority, by a ſubſequent order in ſix weeks after its publication. But, to adopt the appoſite remark of a reſpectable writer and obſerver at the time—"why this order was iſſued, or why it was revoked, it is impoſſible to ſay. The politics of Mr. Pitt are entirely of a novel ſpecies, and are ſo contrary to thoſe of all preceding ſtateſmen as to baffle every effort of the hiſtorian to explain or comprehend them."

BOOK

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BOOK XIV.

Session of Parliament, 1794. *Debates on the Address. Pacific Motion of the Marquis of Landsdown. Investigation of the Conduct of the Scottish Judges. Debates on the Landing of Foreign Troops in the Kingdom. Annual Statement of Finance. Bill for the partial Abolition of the Slave Trade—rejected. Increase of the Land Forces. Voluntary Contributions. Addresses for Peace moved by Mr. Whitbread and the Earl of Guildford. Motion in Favor of La Fayette by General Fitzpatrick. Motion for an Enquiry into the Losses on the Continent, by Major Maitland. Motion for taxing Places and Pensions. Subsidy Treaty with Prussia. Message from the King respecting Seditious Societies—Debates upon the Message. Habeas-Corpus Act suspended. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for the partial Abolition of the Test Laws. Series of Resolutions moved by the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox. Parliament prorogued. Changes in Administration. Military Transactions. Landreci captured by the Allies. Battle of Fleurus. Continued Successes of the French. General Pichegru crosses the Maese and Waal. Disastrous Retreat of the English Army. Amsterdam surrenders to the Conqueror. Campaign in Spain—and in Italy. Naval Transactions. Conquest of Martinico, of St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe. Guadaloupe re-captured. Conquest of Corsica, King of Great Britain accepts the Gift of the Crown of Corsica from a Corsican Convention. Victory obtained over the Brest Fleet by Lord Howe. Proceedings of the French Convention. Fall of Robespierre. Arrival of Mr. Jay, Ambassador-Extraordinary from America to the Court of London. Emigrations to America. Trials in Scotland for High Treason. Pretended Plot to assassinate the King. Trials*

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Trials of Hardy, &c. for High Treaſon—Mr. Pitt examined as an Evidence—His incredible Want of Recollection. Lord Macartney's Embaſſy to China. Tranſactions in Poland—Final Partition of that Kingdom. Political Occurrences in America. Mr. Monroe nominated Ambaſſador to France—His cordial Reception in that Country.

THE SESSION of PARLIAMENT opened January 21, 1794. The king declared "the circumſtances under which they were aſſembled to require the moſt ſerious attention. We are," ſaid he, "engaged in a conteſt, on the iſſue of which depend the maintenance of our conſtitution, laws, and religion, and the ſecurity of all civil ſociety." His majeſty obſerved with ſatisfaction the advantageous change which had taken place in Europe ſince the commencement of the war.—"The circumſtances by which the further progreſs of the allies has been hitherto impeded not only," ſaid the monarch, "prove the neceſſity of vigor and perſeverance on our part, but, at the ſame time, *confirm the expectation of* ULTIMATE SUCCESS. Our enemies have derived the means of *temporary exertion* from a ſyſtem which has enabled them to diſpoſe arbitrarily of the lives and properties of a numerous people, and which openly violates every reſtraint of juſtice, humanity, and religion. But theſe effects have alſo tended rapidly to exhauſt the natural and real ſtrength of the country.—His majeſty declared, "that he reflected with unſpeakable ſatisfaction on the ſteady loyalty and firm attachment to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government which, notwithſtanding the continued efforts employed to miſlead and ſeduce, had been ſo generally prevalent among all ranks of his people."

The addreſſes moved in anſwer to the ſpeech gave occaſion to very warm and animated debates in both houſes. In that of the peers, the earl of Guildford, ſon of the late celebrated miniſter, lord North, obſerved, "That the object of the war appeared, in the ſhort time that had elapſed

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elapſed ſince its commencement, to be totally changed. It was at firſt affirmed to be the protection of our allies and the ſecurity of this realm; it now appeared to be the reſtoration of the French monarchy. The French had, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, been repeatedly depreſſed and defeated: was it not probable, therefore, that they would, in theſe circumſtances, have liſtened to ſuch pacific terms as it became the dignity and juſtice of this nation to offer." His lordſhip thought it reaſonable to inquire, whether we had not obtained the end originally propoſed, after which his majeſty's miniſters had ſolemnly declared their intention to purſue every method for obtaining peace? He combated the opinion that the French had made efforts which they could not repeat; and he aſked whether miniſters had calculated the reſources neceſſary for ſubduing them. As to the danger apprehended from the diſſemination of French principles, they certainly were not to be prevented by the ſword. They could be counteracted effectually only by an impreſſion upon the minds of the people of the bleſſings they derived from their own conſtitution. His lordſhip, in concluſion, ſubmitted to the houſe an amendment to the addreſs, "imploring his majeſty to ſeize the earlieſt opportunity to terminate hoſtilities by an honorable peace." The amendment was ably ſupported by the earls of Derby and Lauderdale, the duke of Norfolk, and the marquis of Lanſdown. The ſecretary of ſtate, lord Grenville, in reply, entered into a long account of the contentions and miſeries of the French.—"It was by terror alone that the French were governed; the conſequence MUST ſoon be that they would riſe to oppoſe it. We had no ſecurity for a permament peace."—His lordſhip concluded by expreſſing, in the words of his majeſty's ſpeech, his perfect confidence of ultimate ſucceſs.—On the diviſion, the voices in favor of the amendment were twelve only to ninety-ſeven againſt it.

A ſimilar

A ſimilar amendment was moved in the houſe of commons by the earl of Wycombe, ſon to the marquis of Lanſdown, and oppoſed by the earl of Mornington in a ſpeech of great length and elaboration, ſtating in very forcible language, though in tedious and diſguſting detail, the miſerable condition of that oppreſſed and diſtracted country; and reprobating, with juſt indignation, the extravagances and crimes which had diſgraced the conduct of the exiſting government both in its moral and political capacity.—As an encouragement to the Britiſh parliament to continue the conteſt, his lordſhip entered into a minute inveſtigation of the finances of France, hazarding, in this part of his oration, ſome very extraordinary poſitions. The annual expenditure of France upon the ſcale of the laſt year, this nobleman affirmed, would amount to two hundred and ſixteen millions ſterling, which, he ſaid, exceeded the total collective annual income of the individuals of that country no leſs than ninety-ſix millions. He ſaid that the Convention, under the pretence and name of financial operations, had committed direct acts of bankruptcy; that public credit was no more; that the *certain* effect of the meaſures adopted by the Convention muſt be to annihilate the ſtock ſtill remaining of all the neceſſaries of life in France, and to haſten the moment when it will be *impoſſible* for the government either to ſubſiſt the people at home, or even to maintain an army upon the frontier; that the reſources of the country are exhauſting, not ſlowly and gradually, but with a rapidity and violence which at once diſſolved the very elements of the ſyſtem of political economy; and his lordſhip pronounced that ſuch unnatural exertions, with their monſtrous effects, *muſt* ultimately yield to a ſteady and unremitting exertion of our natural and genuine ſtrength, confirmed by the co-operation of our numerous allies. He deprecated, therefore, any attempt towards a negotiation for peace, as it would imply, in actual circumſtances, the relinquiſhing all hope of *indemnity* for the hazard

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zard and expenſe of the war; and recommended, in terms of great earneſtneſs, a vigorous and unremitting proſecution of hoſtilities.—This ſpeech appeared, from the continued marks of applauſe which accompanied the delivery of it, to be in perfect uniſon with the feelings and ſentiments of the houſe. Lord Mornington was ſet up as the hero of the day, and obtained an eaſy victory over the ideal republic which he thus depictured.

Mr. Sheridan remarked in reply, that his majeſty had warned the houſe, in his gracious ſpeech from the throne, to keep in ſight the real grounds and origin of the war. By the real grounds of the war the noble lord ſeemed to underſtand that his majeſty alluded to the means by which we had been enſnared into it, namely, by repeated declamations on all that the phrenzy, the folly, and raſhneſs, of individuals in France, had either ſaid or written, by which the paſſions of this country could be rouzed or their fears excited. And what was the ſum?—that enormities were committed there which ſickened and diſguſted the ſoul. But was this difficult to be accounted for? The ſurrounding ſtates had goaded them into a paroxyſm of madneſs and deſperation; and, at length, they had turned upon us with the fury which we had inſpired. But far from being deſirous, in the origin or progreſs of the revolution, unneceſſarily to involve themſelves with England, the ſtrongeſt reproach which the different factions could throw out againſt each other was the accuſation of having been acceſſary to a war which all parties were anxious to avoid. This appeared by the noble lord's quotations from the famous pamphlet of M. Briſſot.

"We continue to reproach the French," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "for injuſtice and inſolence in the conduct of the war: But what has been the conduct of Great Britain? What has been the language ſhe has held to Genoa, to Switzerland, to Tuſcany, and, as far as ſhe dared, to Denmark and Sweden?—She wiſhed to embark the whole world

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world in the confederacy againſt France the moment ſhe thought proper to join it; and the neutrality of which ſhe herſelf boaſted but a month before became inſtantly a heinous crime in any other ſtate of Europe."

Mr. Sheridan noticed, in ſarcaſtic terms, the diſparity between the *motives* and the *object* of the war, as ſtated by the miniſter. The motives or cauſes urged in juſtification of the war were certain ſpecific injuries and inſults offered to Great Britain and her ally the republic of Holland, the offenſive conduct of the Convention, and the opening of the Scheld: but the object of the war was the preſervation of ſocial order, of regular government, of morals, and religion. Had the French offered adequate reparation for the ſpecial offences alleged on our part, we ſhould, it ſeems, have remained idle ſpectators of the mighty conflict in which the intereſts of the whole world were involved, reclining, in luxurious eaſe, on our commercial couch, and have left the cauſe of ſocial order, government, morality, and religion, to owe its preſervation to the exertions of Sarmatian and Hungarian barbarians. No; he would not do the miniſter the injuſtice to ſuppoſe that he was induced to become a party in this great warfare by any perſonal or petty provocation; he was, doubtleſs, actuated chiefly and primarily by the nobler motive of defending the cauſe of humanity itſelf againſt the common enemy of human kind. Which party firſt ſaid the words "We are at war" was, therefore, a trivial conſideration. Every fact proved it to be a war of choice on the part of the government of Great Britain, and from that reſponſibility the miniſter neither CAN nor SHALL diſengage himſelf.

Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the probability of ultimate ſucceſs in the war, as held out in his majeſty's ſpeech, and re-echoed by the noble lord. Our firſt expectations, ſaid he, were founded upon the great body of French royaliſts who were now deſtroyed and annihilated. Our ſecond hope was derived from the conflict of the oppoſite factions; but

but what has happened?—that conflict has been decided, and the conquering party, ſuppoſed the weaker, has exerciſed the powers of government with ſtill more energy and ſucceſs than their predeceſſors. After a ſucceſſion of bloody and obſtinate battles, the invaders of France have been driven back by armies compoſed chiefly of raw and unpractiſed recruits. Where now is the ſcientific confidence with which we were taught to regard the efforts of diſcipline and experience? The jargon of profeſſional pedantry is mute.—Are our allies in better ſpirits to act, or fuller of reſource to act effectually now than at the commencement of the laſt campaign? Is it nothing that the great and momentous experiment has been made, and that a ſingle nation, rouzed by a new and animating energy, and defending what they conceive to be their liberty, has proved itſelf to be a match for the enmity and arms of the world? Are we to hold, as a matter of ſlight conſideration the daring and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, ſolicitous of danger and fearleſs of death, which has ſpread with electrical rapidity throughout all the deſcriptions of men conſtituting that great and gallant nation? or is the pride with which ſucceſs in ſuch a conflict has ſwelled the heart of every individual who has ſhared in it to be eſtimated as nothing? Who that has reflected on theſe circumſtances, and can boaſt a mind neither clouded by paſſion nor corrupted by intereſt, ſhall dare to affirm that the allies are nearer at this moment to the attainment of their profeſſed object than at any former period of the war? As to one of the nominal powers of the alliance, the empreſs of Ruſſia, it may be aſked, has ſhe ſhewn any diſpoſition to contribute any thing to the common cauſe but her praiſes and her prayers?

The noble lord, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, overlooking the imperious neceſſity of circumſtances, thinks it fair and candid to contraſt the proceedings of the French Convention, relative to matters of ſupply and finance, with the proceedings of the Britiſh miniſter and the Britiſh parliament on the ſame

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ſame ſubject ;—certainly the contraſt is obvious, and long may it continue ſo. But the noble lord purſues his triumph rather too far, when he endeavours to impreſs it more forcibly on our minds by making a regular ſpeech for our chancellor of the Exchequer, and exultingly demanding what we ſhould ſay if his right honorable friend were to come down and propoſe to this houſe ſuch ways and means as the miniſter of finance in France is compelled to reſort to? What ſhould we think if he were to riſe and propoſe that all perſons who had money or property in an unproductive ſtate ſhould lend it without intereſt to the public ;—that all who had accumulated fortunes out of the bounty of the ſtate ſhould refund what they had received ;—or, finally, that all perſons poſſeſſing great eſtates ſhould relinquiſh the produce of them during the war, reſerving to themſelves only a bare and moderate ſubſiſtence? Sir, I agree with the noble lord, that if his right honorable friend were to come down to us with any ſuch propoſitions, he would not long retain his preſent ſituation. There is, therefore, no great danger that the experiment will be made. No, ſir ; from the modeſty and prudence of our preſent miniſter, I ſhould augur a very different ſpeech from that which the noble lord has provided for him.—Comparing himſelf and his own meaſures with the character and conduct of his rival, he might, without too great an aſſumption of merit, ſay, ‘ Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend your hoards to government without intereſt? On the contrary, when I come to propoſe a loan, there is not a man of you to whom I ſhall not hold out an uſurious profit upon every pound you devote to the neceſſities of your country.—Do I demand of you, my fellow-placemen and brother-penſioners, that you ſhould appropriate any part of your ſtipends to the public exigencies? On the contrary, am I not daily increaſing your numbers and your emoluments? Do I require of you, my lateſt and moſt zealous proſelytes, that you ſhould make any temporary ſacrifices

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in ſupport of a war, on the ſucceſs of which you profeſs to believe that the ſalvation of Britain and of Europe, and of civilized ſociety itſelf, depends? No, gentlemen, I ſcorn to take advantage of your eagerneſs and your zeal; and to prove that I do not ſuſpect them to want ſuch a teſt, I will make your intereſt to coincide with your principle. Inſtead of calling upon you to contribute to the public revenue, I will quarter ſome of you upon it; and while others are abſorbed in patriotic apprehenſions, I will *force* upon them the favorite objects of their perſonal vanity and ambition.'

The wit and ſpirit of this brilliant reply excited the involuntary admiration of the houſe, which, however, unhappily remained unimpreſſed with the force and weight of its reaſonings. The debate was long protracted, and the houſe, at a very late hour, divided; for the queſtion 279, againſt it 61 voices.

In the upper houſe, the cuſtomary addreſs paſſed with little oppoſition; but, on the 17th of February, the marquis of Lanſdown, in a ſpeech replete with ſound reaſoning, information, and eloquence, moved an addreſs of another deſcription, "to repreſent to his majeſty the extreme improbability of conquering France; that the diſmemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the ſtrength of the powers moſt to be dreaded; that opinions cannot be controlled by arms; that experience has demonſtrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal government of France, even if the juſtice were problematical; and that we muſt incur the keeneſt reproaches, if we encouraged farther revolts in a country where we had been unable to ſave thoſe who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin—therefore to implore his majeſty to declare, without delay, his diſpoſition to make peace upon ſuch juſt, diſintereſted, and liberal terms, as were calculated to render the peace laſting; and that he would ſignify this intention to his allies, that a ſtop might be put to the effuſion of human blood."

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His lordſhip took a very maſterly and comprehenſive view of the ſituations, reſources, and political objects of the ſeveral European ſtates.—" Whether we look," ſaid this truly-able and eminent ſtateſman, " to our confederacy on the one hand, or to the neutral powers whom we had irritated on the other, it was impoſſible to perceive any ground of hope. France, by the preſſure of the allies upon her frontier, had become a ſchool of military wonder; and if other governments perſevered in their deſign of thus goading her to almoſt præternatural exertions, we ſhould ſee a military republic firmly eſtabliſhed in the heart of Europe. The enthuſiaſm of war has entered into every ſentiment and feeling of the ſoul; but this enthuſiaſm originated in that of liberty, and the whole country is taught that their ſole occupation and paſſion ought to be arms, becauſe their only good and bleſſing is liberty.—Such being the ſtate of the war, his lordſhip aſked, Whether it was reaſonable to perſevere in it? Whether, upon the principle avowed, we ought to ſucceed? Whether, by the treaties we had made, we were likely to do ſo? and, above all, Whether the war did not tend to produce conſequences fatal to the intereſts of this country, to thoſe of Europe, and to the general liberties of mankind? In looking to the future fortune of the war, his lordſhip adverted to the condition of Holland, comparing their preſent backwardneſs with their former glorious ſtruggles, and ſaid it exhibited the difference between men when engaged in defence of their own liberties, and when drawn in to fight with others againſt their will.—In alluſion to the declaration of lord Grenville on a former occaſion, that ſecurity and indemnity were the objects of the war, his lordſhip ſaid, that it was not the traſh of indemnity we ought to purſue; the true object of Britiſh policy at this moment was to conciliate France, and reſtore peace to the world. Treat with the French people, no matter for the name. If our intentions are wiſe and diſintereſted, there can be little to ſettle, and

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in that would lie our great ſecurity. The marquis recommended, as an example to this country in its intercourſe with France, the magnanimous conduct of Louis IX. during the civil wars in the reign of Henry III. Were we to manifeſt ſentiments of kindneſs and generoſity, and a deſire of peace towards the French, they would evince the ſame. They had always been againſt a war with England. Mutual rancor, his lordſhip ſaid, had been excited by mutual invectives. This he earneſtly wiſhed to avoid; and that we ſhould behave nobly, not ſeeking to derive profit from the misfortunes of our neighbours."

The motion was ſeconded by the duke of Grafton, who had for many years retired from public life, but who now deemed it incumbent upon him to ſtand forward and bear his decided teſtimony againſt the preſent fatally-deſtructive ſyſtem of adminiſtration. And his grace's ſentiments derived great weight and intereſt, not merely from the unblemiſhed integrity of his character, but the advantage he poſſeſſed of that practical wiſdom which is the reſult of long experience in affairs matured by deep and diſpaſſionate reflection. His grace noticed his long abſence from the houſe, and ſaid, He did not flatter himſelf with the expectation of making any conſiderable impreſſion upon their lordſhips, or of effecting, by the obſervations he had to offer, any material alteration of ſentiment. But he hoped, that, by a conſtant and unremitted attention to their duty, he, and thoſe few with whom he acted, might, in the end, accompliſh their object, which was to reſtore to their country the bleſſings of peace. He recollected on a former occaſion, that a minority, ſmall in number at the firſt, long reviled, treated with ſcorn and contempt, did, by perſeverance and firmneſs, at length convert their minority into a majority, and put an end to the American war.—His grace ſaid, he firmly believed that the motion before the houſe was calculated to promote the real welfare of the country; and that, if right meaſures had been adopted,

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a torrent of blood might have been ſpared. The misfortunes in which we were involved had their origin in a doctrine new to him, which was that of implicit confidence in his majeſty's miniſters; but the greater the confidence placed in them, the greater muſt be the ultimate reſponſibility, and they might on a future day be called to anſwer to their injured country for the difficulties and diſtreſſes in which they had, by their ill-judged and impolitic meaſures, involved her. The preſent war, his grace ſaid, was undefined in its principle and object. It was what political writers termed *bellum internecionis*---a war of extermination. In ſuch a war are we plunged by the temerity of a miniſter, who, twelve months before, predicted a continuance of peace for fifteen years; and twelve millions of additional debt has been contracted, inſtead of that diminution of the public burdens of which he had held out the falſe and fallacious proſpect. His grace declared, that he certainly did not mean to recommend the violation of our treaties, nor the deſertion of our allies; but if wiſdom preſided in our councils, and proper terms were offered to the French, the reſult would, he doubted not, be happy: but a continuance of the preſent war, upon the principle on which it was now carried on, threatened his majeſty's throne and government, and the ſafety and proſperity of the Britiſh nation.

The ſecretary of ſtate, lord Grenville, concluded a debate of great length, by pronouncing the motion before the houſe to be ill-timed, inexpedient, and impracticable: whatever, as his lordſhip had the candor to expreſs himſelf, might be the MOTIVE for bringing it forward, he rejoiced in the diſcretion, as it would impreſs on the parliament and the people the real principles of the war;* it would remind them how much they had at ſtake in

* The frequent and vile inſinuations of lord Grenville, reſpecting the MOTIVES of thoſe who oppoſed, and ſtill oppoſe, the meaſures of the preſent ſuperlatively

in the event, and how neceſſary it was to proſecute it vigorouſly. He was aſtoniſhed to ſee two ſuch men as the noble marquis and duke propoſe a negotiation for peace without ſtating any ground on which it could be effected with ſecurity. He aſked, if either of the noble lords would be negotiator on this occaſion, and whether they would aſſert there was a man in France who had the power to treat with them. SECURITY was the object of the war; but parliament would not, he was perſuaded, call upon miniſters to declare the degree of ſecurity they required, or in what ſpecific mode it was to be obtained. It depended upon a variety of caſual circumſtances and fluctuating events. He denied the impregnability of the frontier of France, and vindicated the conduct of miniſters towards the neutral nations on the ground of political neceſſity. His lordſhip affirmed, that our commerce was flouriſhing, our manufactures increaſing, and our revenue proſperous; and mentioned his ſurpriſe that the noble lords who ſupported the motion had not brought forward any ſpecific propoſal to obviate the difficulties which impeded a negotiation. In the courſe of a long ſpeech, ſimilar in all reſpects to his former wretched effuſions, excepting that all intention of INDEMNITY was omitted, his lordſhip run over the catalogue of his common places; while, ſuch is the wonderful effect of prejudice, the houſe liſtened with favorable attention, as if he had been uttering oracles of wiſdom. On a diviſion there appeared—for the motion 13; againſt it 103.

The horrible ſeverity of the ſentences paſſed upon the Scottiſh delinquents, Muir, Palmer, &c. even admitting

ſuperlatively deteſtable adminiſtration, never ſurely could be levelled with leſs ſenſe and decency than againſt two noblemen, diſtinguiſhed for virtue and ability, who had both occupied the higheſt offices in the ſtate, of long experience and tried fidelity to their ſovereign and their country; and in compariſon of whom lord Grenville was, in a phyſical as well as political ſenſe, a mere child—truly noble perſons, who could not for a moment, with the leaſt color of plauſibility, be ſuppoſed actuated by any MOTIVES which were not in the higheſt degree pure, juſt, and laudable.

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the conviction to be legal and juſt, was ſo flagrant as to excite great attention; and Mr. Adam, a Scottiſh advocate of great profeſſional ability, on the 4th of February brought forward a motion in the houſe of commons tending to a reviſion of the Scottiſh law of ſedition, with a view to aſſimilate it more nearly to the mild and equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence; but this generous attempt was negatived by a majority of 126 to 31 voices.

It being a matter of very great doubt whether, barbarous as the law of Scotland appeared to be, the Court of Juſticiary had not exceeded the limits of their power in ſubſtituting the puniſhment of tranſportation for that of baniſhment, impoſed by the act of queen Anne, for the offence charged upon the above-named gentlemen, whoſe character in private life, however miſtaken in their public opinions and conduct, was admitted to be in the higheſt degree reſpectable, Mr. Adam on the 10th of March moved for a copy of the record to be laid before the houſe, upon the ground of which he meant to queſtion the legality of the ſentence; and if his arguments prevailed with the houſe, as no appeal could lie from the conviction, he ſhould propoſe an addreſs to his majeſty in favor of theſe unfortunate men. After a maſterly legal diſcuſſion of the queſtion, Mr. Adam made a ſudden tranſition to the equity and humanity of the proceeding, addreſſing himſelf very powerfully to the feelings of the houſe. "What," ſaid he, "is the crime? Miſdemeanor. What is the puniſhment? Tranſportation; and that the moſt aggravated and afflicting known to the law—to a deſolate iſland, an inhoſpitable deſert at the extremity of the earth, where all is rude and barbarous, where they muſt be deprived of all communication with intelligent beings like themſelves, where they can find no ſocial pleaſure, but are condemned to live with ruffians whom the ſword of juſtice has ſpared." The motion was oppoſed by the lord-advocate of Scotland, who praiſed the Scottiſh criminal code in high terms, as much

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much ſuperior to that of England, and far better adapted to the ſuppreſſion of ſedition. And Mr. Pitt declared that, in his opinion, no doubt could be entertained either of the legality of the trials, or the propriety with which the lords of juſticiary had exerciſed their *diſcretion* on that occaſion: and the queſtion was loſt on a diviſion of 139 againſt 32 voices.

On the 25th of March Mr. Adam introduced a third motion, ſupported by a ſtrong chain of facts and reaſonings, relative to the regulation of the Juſticiary Courts of Scotland, purporting to bring their general practice nearer to that of the Engliſh courts. But Mr. Secretary Dundas affirmed that the Scottiſh nation was very happy under its own laws, and that the alterations propoſed would be a violation of the articles of the Union. On the diviſion it was negatived by 77 to 24 voices.

Early in the ſeſſion Mr. Dundas had brought a meſſage from his majeſty, ſtating, that a corps of Heſſians employed in his ſervice having been brought to the coaſt on the Iſle of Wight to prevent ſickneſs on board the tranſports, his majeſty had given orders they ſhould be quartered in the iſland.—This corps conſtituted a part of the army deſtined to co-operate with the French royaliſts in La Vendée, under the command of the earl of Moira, the object of whoſe important expedition was defeated by the miſmanagement and procraſtination of the cabinet. The houſe thanked his majeſty for the communication; but as it ſeemed that the miniſters of the crown meant to paſs ſilently over this tranſaction, which, though circumſtances might render it proper, was in a conſtitutional view alarming, Mr. Grey, on the 10th of February, called the attention of the houſe to the ſubject in a ſpeech replete with hiſtoric parliamentary and conſtitutional information, clearly proving that the meaſure in queſtion was contrary both to the letter and the ſpirit of the conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed at the Revolution; and that, whenever ſuch a meaſure

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meaſure became neceſſary, miniſters ſhould either obtain the previous conſent of parliament, or reſort to a bill of indemnity. Mr. Grey concluded by moving, "that to employ foreigners in any ſituation of military truſt, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom without the conſent of parliament firſt had and obtained, is contrary to law." The motion was ſtrongly ſupported by Mr. Whitbread, lord John Cavendiſh, and Mr. Francis; the latter of whom forcibly aſked, "If it was lawful to bring in 4,000 Heſſians to-day, why not 10,000 Auſtrians to-morrow, and 20,000 Ruſſians the day following?"

Mr. Fox hoped that Engliſhmen would look to the conſequences of this doctrine, and ſaid, that were he to chuſe whether the king ſhould poſſeſs the power of introducing foreign troops into the kingdom in time of peace or in time of war, he ſhould much prefer the former, as the exerciſe of ſo alarming and exorbitant a prerogative would be more likely to rouze the nation to a general oppoſition and reſiſtance. Mr. Pitt maintained that his majeſty did moſt unqueſtionably poſſeſs the prerogative in queſtion, and the remedy for any ſuppoſed danger was for the houſe to withhold the ſupplies for the payment of troops. Mr. Serjeant Adair, one of the moſt reſpectable of the party ſtyled Alarmiſts, admitted that the king had no power to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom; he was a friend to the principle, but not to the form of the motion; he therefore moved the previous queſtion, which was carried by 184 againſt 35 voices.

The more the great conſtitutional axiom moved by Mr. Grey was conſidered, the more reaſon there was to be diſſatisfied at the manner in which it was evaded; eſpecially when the firſt miniſter of the crown, by his abominable and daring avowal of the prerogative in queſtion, ſeemed to aim at the eſtabliſhment of it to all future times, in conſequence of the precedent now made. Mr. Grey, therefore, on the 14th of March, again brought the ſub-

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ject before the houſe in a ſomewhat different form. He controverted, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the opinion given on the former debate by the chancellor of the Exchequer, which, coming from ſuch authority, he regarded as of the utmoſt importance. Mr. Grey ſaid, that he was far from calling in queſtion the propriety or neceſſity of landing the Heſſians; but he could never ſuffer it to be advanced, as a principle of the conſtitution, that the king had a right to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom as a regular branch of the royal prerogative. On the contrary, the letter, ſpirit, and practice of the conſtitution all militated againſt it. He referred to the Act of Settlement, by which no foreigner could poſſibly hold any office of civil or military truſt in this kingdom. But was not every officer of an army of foreigners in a place of military truſt? Theſe foreigners were not even under any military law in this country; for, as to them, the Mutiny Act had no force or operation. From the moment they landed here they were, *ipſo facto*, diſcharged: they could not, by the law of this country, exiſt for a moment as an army, and if they deſerted or diſobeyed there was no ſtatute on which they could be tried. Mr. Grey alſo referred to the famous caſe of the Dutch Guards in the reign of king William, and to the peremptory refuſal of the houſe of commons to admit of their remaining in England, notwithſtanding the great conſtitutional ſervices they had performed. And he proteſted that he had no other view in the meaſure he meant to propoſe than the guarding againſt the eſtabliſhment of a dangerous doctrine and a dangerous precedent. He concluded with moving for a bill of indemnity, in which he was ſeconded by Mr. Francis.

A ſecond vehement debate enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Sheridan, with his accuſtomed and characteriſtic animation, declared, that to look into books in order to demonſtrate the illegality of ſo monſtrous a claim was a mere waſte of time. Common ſenſe was ſufficient to ſhew that

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that it could not exiſt. If at any future interval, when the vigilance of that houſe ſlumbered, advantage was taken to land an army of foreigners in the kingdom for unlawful or injurious purpoſes, would it be pretended that the reſponſibility of miniſters was a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the danger? While the houſe were voting impeachments they might meet the advanced guard of the enemy in the lobby.

Mr. Fox affirmed, that if the introduction of foreign troops into this country was legal, to talk of liberty was abſurd, to ſpeak of a free conſtitution was weakneſs. And Mr. William Smith remarked, that no conſtitution could contain a principle which was *felo de ſe*, which ſtruck at its vital part, and endangered its very exiſtence. Mr. Pitt perſiſted obſtinately in his opinion, or at leaſt his aſſertion, that it was legal and conſtitutional to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom without the previous conſent of parliament; and ſaid, he was yet ignorant what poſitive law it contravened, what precedents it violated, or what courſe of practice it traverſed. On the queſtion being called for, the members for the motion were 41 only, againſt 170, who oppoſed it—a diviſion which excited the grief and indignation of every honeſt man and true Briton.

The earl of Albemarle, in an able and conſtitutional ſpeech, the firſt which he delivered in parliament, brought forward a motion ſimilar to that of Mr. Grey. His lordſhip noticed the Bill of Indemnity introduced under the adminiſtration of lord North, which paſſed in the commons, and was loſt in the lords, merely from the objection made by the marquis of Rockingham to the preamble, in which it was ſtated "that DOUBTS had ariſen, &c.;" whereas the marquis declared that no ſuch doubts had exiſted, or could exiſt, as to the pretended right of the crown to land foreign troops in the kingdom. The motion was ſupported by the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, the marquis of Lanſdown and the duke of Bedford. Lord Romney, who now uſually voted with the court, teſtified as to the

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ſhare which he had borne reſpecting the former bill of indemnity. At that time, his lordſhip ſaid, it was not even pretended that to introduce and employ foreign troops in any part of the king's dominions was legal and conſtitutional; the only difficulty which aroſe related to the wording of the preamble in ſuch a way as not to throw a doubt upon the principle. Lord Grenville himſelf was far from taking up the queſtion in the ſame high tone with Mr. Pitt. His lordſhip declared, he ſaw no uſe in agitating abſtract propoſitions in parliament, and that it would be better for the country if the queſtion were left open, and miniſters remained ſubject, as at preſent, to the eventual reſponſibility of abuſing a power, the exerciſe of which was admitted to be occaſionally neceſſary. In theſe ſentiments the other lords in adminiſtration, lord Hawkeſbury, lord Aukland, &c. ſeemed to concur; and the bill was upon this ground merely rejected, though the lords Stanhope and Radnor ſigned a proteſt againſt the deciſion of the houſe. Upon the whole, and on a general review of the debates in parliament reſpecting this great conſtitutional queſtion, Mr. Pitt appears to have been the only man who took a decided part againſt the intereſts of his country.

About this period of the ſeſſion the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, in the Committee of Supply, that the treaty between his majeſty and the king of Sardinia be referred to the ſaid committee. Conformably to the tenor of this ſingular treaty, Great Britain, it will be recollected, was pledged to pay to his Sardinian majeſty the ſum of 200,000 *l.* to be employed in the defence of his own dominions; and alſo not to make any peace with France of which the reſtoration of Savoy, and his other conquered territories, was not a preliminary article; although it never had been pretended that Savoy was an object of ſufficient conſequence to involve us in a war with France, and the Engliſh court had even made a boaſt of its neutrality ſubſequent to the acquiſition of that duchy by the arms of the

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the republic. The reſolution enabling his majeſty to make good this curious treaty paſſed without a formal diviſion, though it excited the ſevere and poignant animadverſions of the members in oppoſition.

The military and naval force voted for the ſervice of the year amounted to more than 250,000 men, including about 35,000 foreigners; and a new loan was created of 11,000,000 *l.* three-per-cents, and 2,750,000 *l.* four-per-cents. with the addition of a temporary annuity of about one-half per cent. for 11,000,000 *l.* actually borrowed by the government.

A bill introduced by Mr. Wilberforce, for aboliſhing that part of the ſlave-trade which related to the ſupply of foreign plantations, paſſed the houſe of commons under the inſidious patronage of Mr. Pitt, but was thrown out in the lords in conſequence of the avowed diſapprobation of lord Grenville, who was, however, pleaſed to profeſs himſelf an advocate for the principle of the bill, which was, he ſaid, ill-timed pending the inquiry inſtituted in that houſe reſpecting the general queſtion; and in this miſerable ſubterfuge he was ſeconded by Horſeley, biſhop of Rocheſter.

On the 22d of February a meſſage was delivered from the king, purporting, that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increaſe of the land-forces neceſſary: and an addreſs was voted by the houſe, aſſuring his majeſty "of their zealous concurrence in every exertion which became a brave and loyal people in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war." So ſoon were the lofty and boaſtful predictions of miniſters falſified, and their pride humbled, by a change of fortune of which they would not previouſly ſuppoſe the poſſibility. A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer ſencible corps, were accordingly voted, and the dangerous and doubtful expedient reſorted to of ſoliciting voluntary ſubſcriptions, by a formal letter written by the ſecretary of

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ſtate to the lord-lieutenants of the ſeveral counties of the kingdom. This ſubject was brought by Mr. Sheridan in a regular mode before the houſe, and reprobated by him and the members of oppoſition in general as a groſs violation of the principles of the conſtitution and of the privileges of that houſe. But his reaſonings, if not confuted, were ſet at reſt, by moving, as uſual upon all inconvenient and troubleſome propoſitions, the previous queſtion.

On the 6th of March Mr. Whitbread moved an addreſs to the king, ſtrongly expreſſive of diſapprobation of the conduct of miniſters, and of thoſe meaſures which had preceded and ſucceeded the declaration of war—lamenting that his majeſty ſhould have been adviſed to make a common cauſe with powers whoſe objects are undefined, but who, as there is much ground to fear, proſecute the war with views and for purpoſes ſolemnly diſavowed by his majeſty, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation; and ſtating, that the reſtoration of Savoy was not of ſufficient importance to be made a condition of peace, and requeſting his majeſty to extricate himſelf from his preſent engagements, as they prevented his concluding a ſeparate peace.—Againſt an armed nation, Mr. Whitbread obſerved, it was in vain to combine; and in the midſt of our pretended ſucceſſes we were called upon to make an extraordinary proviſion for our internal ſafety.—The motion was negatived, after a warm debate, by a great majority.—A ſimilar motion, brought forward by the earl of Guildford in the houſe of lords, was oppoſed by lord Hawkeſbury, who characteriſtically declared, that, far from objecting to the treaties already made, he only wiſhed there were more, and ſhould rejoice if there was not a neutral power in Europe. He juſtified the treaty with Sardinia, and maintained the perfect conſiſtency of miniſters, who had, in his opinion, acted in a manner highly meritorious. The motion of lord Guildford was rejected by the uſual majority.

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The melancholy ſituation of general la Fayette, who, ſince his flight and capture on neutral ground, had been groaning under the oppreſſion of Auſtrian cruelty in the dungeons of Olmutz, exciting the compaſſion of many reſpectable perſons, general Fitzpatrick humanely and generouſly moved the houſe of commons, on the 17th of March, for an addreſs to the throne, beſeeching his majeſty to intercede with the court of Vienna in his favor. The general remarked that La Fayette ſuffered for his attachment to the conſtitutional monarchy which we now profeſſedly wiſhed to reſtore; and he enlarged on the merits and ſervices of that unfortunate perſon as far overbalancing any errors with which he might be chargeable.

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion as equally improper and unneceſſary, and denied that M. la Fayette's conduct was ever friendly to the genuine cauſe of liberty; and he affirmed, that the interference required would be ſetting up ourſelves as guardians of the conſciences of foreign ſtates.

The motion was negatived by a majority of more than a hundred voices, by the influence of the miniſter merely; for the feelings of the houſe were evidently intereſted in favor of the victim of Auſtrian perfidy. It was, however, ſtrongly ſuſpected that the emperor was not the monarch in Europe the moſt averſe to M. la Fayette's reſtoration to the bleſſings of freedom—thoſe bleſſings of which he had been ſo inſtrumental to the eſtabliſhment in America.

On the 10th of April, major Maitland, brother to the earl of Lauderdale, moved for a committee of the whole houſe to inquire into the cauſes of the failure of Dunkirk and the evacuation of Toulon, which he enforced by a ſpeech containing ſevere animadverſions on the conduct and policy of adminiſtration.

Mr. Jenkinſon, ſon of lord Hawkeſbury, roſe in oppoſition to the motion, and took a retroſpective view of the tranſactions of the laſt campaign, which (he ſaid) not only demonſtrated the valor of the Britiſh troops, but the wiſdom of the Britiſh councils. He affirmed that this country could

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could not think of peace till the government of France, if it deſerved the name, was annihilated; and it was the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to aſſiſt *every* party that ſhould ariſe to overturn it. He was ready to confeſs, indeed, that government to be ſtrong; but, paradoxically ſpeaking, the ſtronger it was, ſo much the more eaſy was it to be deſtroyed. The Jacobine Club at Paris gave the tone to the whole kingdom:—let that club, then, be deſtroyed, and univerſal conſternation and confuſion would follow. This event could only be accompliſhed *by marching directly to* PARIS. But firſt it would be neceſſary to take ſome ſtrong towns on the frontier, in order to open the communication with the inhabitants, who would be glad of the opportunity of flying from anarchy and deſpotiſm.*

Mr.

* A comment equally amuſing and inſtructive upon the ſyſtem of thoſe great politicians who *adviſed* the overthrow of the French republican government by marching directly to Paris, may be found in the celebrated Rabelais, book i. chap. 33. entitled, "How certain governors of king Picrochole, by their raſh counſels, run him into the utmoſt danger." Theſe governors were, it ſeems, the duke of Menreail, earl Spadaſin, and captain Merdaille, who, by engaging him in a war with Grandgouſier, promiſed to make him the greateſt prince ſince Alexander of Macedon. Picrochole, flattered by this, bids them put on their hats, and tell him how. They propoſe leaving a ſmall garriſon at home; to march one army immediately to Grandgouſier, and deſtroy him; another to go to Gaſcony, and capture all the towns, caſtles, and ſtrong places, in their way. Thence to take Spain and Portugal, and erect two columns much more durable than thoſe of Hercules, in honor of his majeſty's name. Moreover, the Straits ſhould be called the Picrocholine Straits. After this Barbary and Italy were to be conquered—Picrochole proteſting, by the bye, that he would upon no account kiſs the pope's ſlipper. "But in the mean time," ſays Picrochole, "what becomes of the firſt army, after defeating that deviliſh fellow Grandgouſier?" 'Why, ſir,' reply the governors, 'reaſſembling in Bohemia, they vanquiſh Norway, Sweden, Gothland, and ſo up to the Frozen Ocean; whence, by way of Lithuania and Bulgaria, they proceed directly to Conſtantinople.' "I'll go there myſelf," cries Picrochole, "for I have a mind to be emperor of Trebizonde. All I fear is that infernal Grandgouſier." 'Don't fear him,' ſaid Spadaſin, 'for Ruſſia ſhall ſend in a moment to your aſſiſtance 450,000 choſen troops.' "Come on then," exclaimed Picrochole, "ſee that every thing be got ready, and let thoſe who love me follow me."

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Mr. Pitt objected to the motion, on account of the great *inconveniences* of inquiry, which he affirmed to be of such magnitude that they ought never to be hazarded except when the failures were of a nature to attach incapacity to the character of miniſters, or to occaſion diſtruſt of the general ſyſtem which they had adopted: but the failures which had taken place, he ſubmitted to the houſe, were far from amounting to this—A direct negative was conſequently put upon the motion, by a majority of 133 voices.

Early in this month Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual ſtatement of the finances of India. He repreſented, as uſual, the proſperous condition of the Company, the increaſe of their commerce, their inveſtments and their revenues, and drew a flattering picture of their opulence and their greatneſs. To this he acknowledged that one objection might poſſibly be made—Why then, it might be aſked, apply to the public for pecuniary relief? Why want to borrow money? But this, he affirmed, the Company did not aſk: they only aſked leave to increaſe their own capital—an indulgence to which he thought them fully entitled. In order to this he moved a reſolution enabling the Company to continue their bonded debt at two millions, and to iſſue new bonds for one million more, which was agreed to without a diviſion.

Nearly at the ſame time Mr. Harriſon brought forward a motion reſpecting ſinecure places and penſions, all of which above two hundred pounds per annum he propoſed to tax, during the continuance of the war, in a certain ſpecified and gradual ſcale of proportion. Mr. Burke treated this propoſition with great diſdain, and compared the meaſure to thoſe which had occaſioned the ruin of France. As a meaſure of reſource, he ſaid, it was trifling and inadequate; as a meaſure of policy, miſtaken. If the poor were only to be relieved in this way, then let them ſubmit to the will of God.—Mr. Pitt affirmed that the motion held out falſe principles. Was the country, inſtead of a flouriſhing,

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riſhing, in a deſperate ſituation, the houſe, he thought, would not recur to a meaſure like the preſent: but from a review of the ſtate of the kingdom, he contended that the nation had great cauſe of exultation.—The votes in favour of the motion were 50, againſt it 119.

At the end of the month of April Mr. Secretary Dundas delivered a meſſage from the king, announcing a treaty of ſubſidy with the king of Pruſſia, and a Convention with the States-General. Mr. Pitt, on being urged, ſtated the terms to be as follows: That his Pruſſian majeſty had agreed to furniſh 62,000 troops, for which his Britannic majeſty had agreed to pay him 50,000 *l.* per month, 100,000 *l.* per month for forage, 400,000 *l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000 *l.* on their return; of the aggregate of which ſums the States-General were to pay 400,000 *l.* as their proportion. Over the troops ſubſidized at this enormous expenſe, the direction and command were ſtill veſted in the king of Pruſſia. The motion of Mr. Pitt for the ſum of 2,500,000 *l.* to be raiſed by way of loan on Exchequer-bills, in addition to the ſupplies of the current year, for the purpoſe of making good this engagement, paſſed by a great majority.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Dundas brought down a ſecond meſſage from the king, importing, that ſeditious practices had been carried on by certain ſocieties in London, in correſpondence with other ſocieties; that they had lately been purſued with increaſing activity and boldneſs, and been avowedly directed to the aſſembling of a pretended national convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, on principles ſubverſive of the exiſting laws and the conſtitution, and tending to introduce that ſyſtem of anarchy prevailing in France; that his majeſty had given orders for ſeizing the books and papers of thoſe ſocieties, which were to be laid before the houſe; that it was recommended to the houſe to conſider them,

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them, and to purſue ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary in order to prevent their pernicious tendency.

On the ſame day, Thomas Hardy, *ſhoemaker* in Piccadilly, who had acted as ſecretary to the London Correſponding Society, and Daniel Adams, ſecretary to the Society for Conſtitutional Information, too well-known and long-eſtabliſhed political aſſociations, were apprehended, by warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate, for treaſonable practices; and ſeveral other members of the two ſocieties were, in the courſe of a week, arreſted, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high-treaſon.

The papers in queſtion being referred to a ſecret committee of twenty-one members, choſen by ballot, the firſt report of the committee was brought up by Mr. Pitt on the 16th of May. It contained an account of the proceedings of the ſocieties, from the year 1791, chiefly from the public newſpapers. In a very long and ſtudied harangue, Mr. Pitt endeavoured to impreſs upon the houſe the belief of the exiſtence of a moſt dreadful and dangerous conſpiracy. He ſhould call, he ſaid, the attention of the houſe to a ſociety which, though compoſed of the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable of the people, acting upon the worſt Jacobinical principles, had within it the means of the moſt unbounded extenſion and rapid increaſe. It had already riſen to thirty diviſions in London, ſome containing ſix hundred perſons, and was connected by a ſyſtematical chain of correſpondence with other ſocieties, ſcattered through all the manufacturing towns. That ſociety had arrived at ſuch enormous boldneſs as to declare itſelf authoriſed to ſcan the proceedings of parliament, and preſcribe limits for its actions, beyond which, if it preſumed to advance, an end was to be put to its exiſtence. Such language from people ſo contemptible might ſeem the effect of inſanity, and deſerving only of compaſſion; but it had been the reſult of deep deſign, moulded into ſhape, and fit for miſchievous effects when opportunity ſhould occur. About ſix weeks ago the correſponding Society had, in

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in due form, laid before the Conſtitutional Society a deliberate and deep-concerted plan for aſſembling a convention for all England, intending evidently to exerciſe legiſlative and judicial capacities, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and wreſt from the parliament the power lodged in their hands; and in their circular letter they had emphatically ſtated that no time was to be loſt. Arms had been actually procured and diſtributed by theſe ſocieties; and, in reference to the nature and magnitude of the objects they had in view, it would appear that a conſpiracy ſo formidable had never yet exiſted. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill empowering his majeſty to ſecure and detain all perſons ſuſpected of deſigns againſt his crown and government.

Mr. Fox, in reply, declared, that he had liſtened in vain to the report now read for a diſcovery of facts more important than thoſe which had been previouſly detailed in every newſpaper. Theſe ſocieties, however intemperate in ſome of their expreſſions and proceedings, uniformly profeſſed their object to be the redreſs of grievances, by means of a reform in a parliment. A convention of the ſame nature with that now propoſed was actually held at Weſtminſter in the year 1780, of which Mr. Pitt might poſſibly have been, and of which he himſelf certainly was, a member. This convention held a public correſpondence with ſocieties in Yorkſhire and other places; they preſented the reſult of their labours to the houſe, which refuſed indeed to acknowledge them as delegates, but allowed their right to petition as individuals, and received their petition. By a convention the Iriſh Catholics had obtained their late privileges. How could the houſe after theſe examples, upon what pretence, or with what equity, declare a convention aſſembling with this object merely in view to be illegal? Such a convention as that ſtated by the miniſter would indeed be highly criminal; but the idea was utterly incredible and

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ridiculous. Were an hundred of theſe perſons inſane enough to iſſue orders, and aſſume the powers of government, where would they find another hundred diſpoſed to obey them? Let the houſe conſider the extent of authority given to the crown by the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act. Every man who diſcourſed freely upon the ſubject of the war, which he from his heart regarded as deteſtable, would be in the hands and at the mercy of the miniſters. Former ſuſpenſion of this act in the caſe of actual or threatened invaſion, at a time when the people were divided in opinion as to the right of the houſe of Hanover, formed no precedent for the preſent meaſure. Who are now the objects of this exerciſe of deſpotiſm?—a number of individuals, without money, without means, poſſeſſing neither military or civil authority. The ſacrifice required was mighty, the danger was altogether imaginary; or if any danger, any criminality, exiſted, the old eſtabliſhed laws known to the conſtitution were fully adequate to the occaſion. Mr. Fox repeated "that the pretexts for this violent and dangerous meaſure were the moſt flimſy and bare-faced, and the meaſure itſelf the moſt daring and impudent, he had ever witneſſed."

The motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried by a great majority, but in every ſtage it met with a moſt reſolute and vigorous oppoſition. Mr. Jekyl obſerved, "that ſome perſons were indeed in cuſtody upon a charge of high-treaſon, but was it to be ſuppoſed, if guilty, that they would eſcape if the preſent bill were not paſſed into a law? Why excite a needleſs and univerſal alarm for the ſake of puniſhing a few?"

Mr. Sheridan declared his belief not only that no treaſonable practices exiſted, but that miniſters knew this to be the fact, although it might be neceſſary for their views to create ſome new cauſe of panic and conſternation. Of all other conſpiracies, he ſaid, ſecreſy was a leading feature; and

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and if this was a conſpiracy, it was the moſt garrulous conſpiracy he ever heard of.

Mr. Grey allowed "that in extreme caſes extreme powers ſhould certainly be given; but no ſuch caſe was ever made out in the preſent inſtance, for the charge at moſt amounted only to ſedition. In the year 1782 Mr. Pitt himſelf had been of opinion that parliamentary reform was only to be accompliſhed by reſolutions of the people acting on the *prudence* of the houſe. This ſame William Pitt, who had once taught the public to believe that nothing honeſt was to be expected from the houſe of commons, now aſſerted that the people ſhould do nothing for themſelves. William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt the proſecutor, and perſecutor too, of reformers now. But, for his own part, he declared, that, however impugned, parliamentary reform was a cauſe he would never deſert, nor would he, to preſerve power or gratify ambition, ever become AN UNPRINCIPLED APOSTATE."—The bill at length paſſed by a majority of five to one.

Very warm debates alſo upon this ſubject took place in the houſe of lords, in the courſe of which lord Thurlow gave it as his opinion, that the facts ſtated in the report did not amount to the crime of high-treaſon, though to that of ſedition they undoubtedly might, and did. But ſedition is by the law of England an offence of a totally different nature from treaſon; obſcurely defined, and of a comparatively trivial import.

After paſſing the Suſpenſion Bill an addreſs was ſent down from the lords to the commons, expreſſing, in ſtrong terms, their belief in, and abhorrence of, the conſpiracy, as ſtated in the report, and their loyal wiſhes to bring to exemplary puniſhment the authors and abettors of ſuch plans, &c. This declaration of the legiſlature, pending a judicial proſecution, and founded upon *ex parte* evidence, was repreſented as groſsly unjuſt and unconſtitutional, as it muſt have an obvious and powerful tendency to bias the minds of

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the juries who were to decide upon the fate of the perſons accuſed, and who, agreeably to the principles of the law of England, ought to be preſumed innocent till they were found and pronounced guilty after a fair and open trial. The houſe nevertheleſs agreed to the addreſs, and negatived an amendment propoſed by Mr. Fox, omitting the clauſe which ſtated their belief of the conſpiracy, without a diviſion.

As proviſion had in the courſe of the ſeſſion been made for embodying a very numerous corps of French emigrants, Mr. Sheridan conceived it a proper opportunity to move for leave to bring in a bill for a new military teſt, containing merely a declaration of allegiance, ſuch as might admit the whole body of Engliſh Diſſenters, Catholic and Proteſtant, to ſerve their country in a military capacity; to which he ſaid, that he preſumed the houſe would allow them to be at leaſt as competent as an army of French Papiſts. Mr. Sheridan very forcibly objected to all teſts and diſqualifying laws; but, confining himſelf on the preſent occaſion to what he thought might probably be granted, he extended his motion only to military and naval teſts, leaving all civil employments to remain as they were. But it was in vain to expect any liberal conceſſion from the preſent odious adminiſtration; and the previous queſtion being moved by Mr. Dundas, upon this unwelcome and perplexing motion, it was carried with little debate, and without any diviſion.

On the 30th of May, the duke of Bedford, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a very able ſpeaker in the houſe of peers, called for the attention of their lordſhips on the important ſubject of peace. His grace ſtated it to be his deſign to ſhew the views which had originally been entertained of the war by the government and the legiſlature, the different aſpects it had ſubſequently aſſumed, and the utter impoſſibility of drawing any ſpecific concluſion of the intention of adminiſtration, or limiting the calamity to any object,

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object, the attainment of which would satisfy their wishes. For this purpose his grace offered a series of propositions, no less than fourteen in number, for the consideration, and, if approved by their lordships, for the assent of that house.

The 1st resolution imported in substance, that, previous to the commencement of hostilities, it was the professed policy of his majesty's government to preserve a strict neutrality in relation to France, and that, after the declaration of war, the avowed object of it was to oppose all views of ambition and aggrandizement on the part of France.

2. That, before the end of April, 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and that the prince of Cobourg did, by a proclamation, engage to co-operate with general Dumouriez, to give to France the constitution of monarchy she had formed for herself; and that, within the compass of a few days, this declaration was superseded and revoked.

3. That by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel on the 10th of April, it appears that his majesty's ministers were of opinion that the situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect, in consequence of which his majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops.

4. That on the 14th of July, 1793, a convention was concluded by Great Britain with Prussia, in which the two powers reciprocally promise to continue to employ their respective forces, as far as their circumstances would permit, in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

5. That on the 23d of August, 1793, the inhabitants of Toulon did declare that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government upon the basis of the constitution of 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of the 28th of August, on taking possession of Toulon, did accept of that declaration.

6. That

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6. That the conſtitution to which the preceding declaration and acceptance are applied was the ſame which his majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague did, in a memorial preſented to the States-General on the 15th of January, 1793, deſcribe in the following terms, viz. " It is not quite four years ſince certain miſcreants, aſſuming the name of philoſophers, have preſumed to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. In order to realize this dream, the offspring of their vanity, it became neceſſary for them to overturn and deſtroy all eſtabliſhed notions of ſubordination, of morals, and of religion."— And that this deſcription was applied by the ſaid ambaſſador to a government with which his majeſty continued to treat and negotiate, from its inſtitution in 1789 to its diſſolution in 1792; and that his majeſty's ambaſſador was not recalled from Paris until that government was diſſolved.

7. That by the declaration of the 25th of October, 1793, his majeſty demands only of France that *ſome* legitimate and ſtable government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that his majeſty hoped to find in the other powers engaged with him in the common cauſe, ſentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

8. That at the commencement of the war the proſecution of it was conſidered by his majeſty as a cauſe of general concern, in which his majeſty had every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of the powers united with him by the ties of alliance or intereſt.

9. That it does not appear, in this cauſe of general concern, that his majeſty has received that cordial co-operation.

10. That, on the contrary, it does appear that many of thoſe powers have not co-operated with his majeſty; that Ruſſia has not contributed in any ſhape to the ſupport of this common cauſe; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to defend themſelves againſt any attempts to force them to take part in this cauſe; that the republics

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of Venice and Switzerland remain neuter; and that Sardinia is ſubſidized by Great Britain merely to enable him to act upon the defenſive.

11. That the king of Pruſſia, bound by the convention of July, 1793, to act as a principal in the war, in the moſt perfect concert and the moſt intimate confidence with his majeſty, has, by the treaty of April, 1794, obtained the grant of an enormous ſubſidy from this country in order to ſecure his farther co-operation; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper ſhare of the burden of a war which is ſaid to be the common cauſe of every civilized ſtate.

12. That the object of the war, as originally profeſſed on our part, viz. the reſtoration of peace on terms of permanent ſecurity, is now attainable—his majeſty uniformly abſtaining from any interference with reſpect to the internal affairs of France.

13. That it is the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to avail themſelves of the preſent circumſtances of the war, by propoſing to France equitable and moderate conditions of reconciliation.

14. That in every poſſible caſe it is equally deſirable that his majeſty ſhould make an *explicit* declaration of his views; and if interference is intended, to make the degree of that interference preciſely known, in order to induce ſuch parts of the French nation as are diſſatisfied with their preſent government to exert themſelves with ſecurity.

His grace expatiated upon theſe propoſitions much at large, and with great pertinence and propriety; and he ſpoke in terms of generous approbation of the amelioration produced in France at the period of the revolution, the primordial ſeeds of which were imported from America. Speculative men, he ſaid, had afterwards attempted to form a ſyſtem too pure for the preſent ſtate of ſociety; but time would have ſoftened down theſe theories, and have made it one of the grandeſt and moſt extraordinary

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ſtructures that was ever formed by man. During this time, excepting ſome trifling diſputes with the Germanic princes about feudal ſuperiorities in Alſace, nothing happened to excite the jealouſy of other powers. Yet two of the deſpotic potentates of the Continent affected to ſee the progreſs of the revolution with alarm, and by means of the Convention of Pilnitz laid the foundation of all the horrors which have followed. The conduct of our allies, with other concurrent cauſes, had conſpired to produce a ſecond revolution. With reſpect to the queſtion, how a *permanent* peace was to be made with France, his grace profeſſed himſelf at a loſs to comprehend the force of the epithet. As applied to treaties between nations, no peace had ever been, or could ever be, permanent, which it ſuited the intereſt and inclination of either party to break; and a peace concluded at the preſent time was as likely to be permanent as at any other. He then proceeded to move his firſt reſolution.

Lord Fitzwilliam, in a ſpeech of great violence, oppoſed the poſition that peace could with ſafety be made with France. His lordſhip maintained, that we had a right to interfere in the internal concerns of France till they ſhould be ſo regulated as to give ſecurity to mankind, and that the part Great Britain had acted became a great and magnanimous people.

The duke of Grafton ſupported the motion brought forward by the duke of Bedford, and obſerved, that four years ago the government was acting the Drawcanſir in defence of the balance of power in Europe, and was now ſeen prize-fighting for the re-eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm in France. His grace adverted to the requeſt made by the French to the king of England to mediate between them and Auſtria—an opportunity never to be recalled; and which, if embraced with cordiality and good faith, would have placed Europe at this day in a happy ſtate of peace.

Lord

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Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion upon the ground of its being an improper interference with the ROYAL PREROGATIVE. There were, he said, no hopes of a permanent peace with the French; the speediest method of obtaining it would be by a change in that government. We were justified in our endeavours to effect this object in every practicable way; and their making war upon us unprovoked undoubtedly gave us new rights; and this none who understood the law of nations could possibly call in question.

Lord Grenville closed the debate with the false and daring assertion, that in no former war had ministers been called upon to state the specific object of it; adding, that he did not see why we were not to interfere with the internal concerns of France, and that the only security we could obtain for a permanent peace was in restoring monarchy to France.—The resolution moved was meanly evaded by the question of adjournment.

On the same day Mr. Fox introduced into the house of commons a series of resolutions precisely similar to those moved by the duke of Bedford in the house of lords, which he illustrated and defended with his wonted ability. A similar debate ensued, and the previous question being moved, on the first resolution, was carried by 210 to 57 voices.

Nothing of historic moment occurred during the remainder of the session, which was protracted till the 11th of July, (1794,) and then terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty was pleased to urge his two houses of parliament "to persevere with increased vigor and exertion in the present arduous contest against a power irreconcileably hostile in its principles and spirit to all regular and established government."

Immediately on the rising of parliament some alterations in the administration took place. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared lord-president of the council, earl Spencer appointed lord

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lord privy-ſeal, the duke of Portland made third ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Windham ſecretary at war. Before the cloſe of the year lord Fitzwilliam was promoted to the vice-royalty of Ireland; and the earl of Mansfield, late lord Stormont, and nephew to the famous chief-juſtice, now no more, ſucceeded to the preſidency of the council. Lord Spencer was, by a happy choice, placed at the head of the Admiralty; and lord Chatham, brother to the premier, who had for ſome years occupied that important department, by a change very beneficial to the public, was now made lord privy-ſeal.

When the chiefs of the alarmiſts went over to the court, it was underſtood that, upon the firſt favorable opportunity, proviſion ſhould be made for them and their partizans, which was now done in an ample manner. But no melioration of the general ſyſtem was diſcernible in conſequence of this new coalition; and the character of the duke of Portland, at leaſt, did not appear in a light more dignified or diſintereſted to the public at large by his acceptance of an office which he himſelf had, fourteen years before, ſtrenuouſly labored to aboliſh, as ſuperfluous in itſelf, and affording the means of corrupt influence, and that under a miniſter whoſe appointment to office his grace had reprobated as an inſult on parliament and the nation. Ten new peers were alſo created, and his grace of Portland's ſervices ſtill farther rewarded with a blue ribband, and the office of chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.*

As the campaign of 1793 terminated very late in the year, that of 1794 did not commence early. On the 6th of

* The accumulation of honor and rewards conferred upon this nobleman, in conſequence of the abandonment of his principles and his party, produced the following ſarcaſtic epigram, in alluſion to his grace's family motto, CRAIGNEZ HONIE:—

When the firſt Bentinck warn'd his race
Above all things to fear diſgrace,
Did his prophetic ſoul foreſee,
PORTLAND, thy baſe apoſtaſy?

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of January the duke of Brunſwic addreſſed a remarkable letter to the king of Pruſſia, in which he announced the reſignation of his command, ſtating as his motive "the unhappy experience that want of connection, diſtruſt, egotiſm, and a ſpirit of cabal, had diſconcerted the meaſures adopted during the two laſt campaigns." He ſpeaks ſtill more plainly in a ſubſequent part of the letter, ſaying—"When, inſtead of the prevalence of an unanimous ſentiment and the ſame principle, each army acts ſeparate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity and without principles, the conſequences are ſuch as we have ſeen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, and Landau. Heaven preſerve your majeſty from great misfortunes!"

It is probable that the king of Pruſſia, being totally diſappointed in his ſelfiſh and unprincipled views of ſharing in the ſpoils of vanquiſhed France, had already determined to withdraw himſelf from the confederacy. In the month of February certain commiſſioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfort, under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of priſoners: but the marked diſtinction with which they were treated, with the long and ſecret conferences which they held with general Kalkreuth, who was known to poſſeſs the entire confidence of the Pruſſian monarch, indicated a treaty of very different import and far higher moment. Field-marſhal Mullendorf ſucceeded to the duke of Brunſwic in the command of the Pruſſian army; and an intimation to the prince of Cobourg that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne was followed, on the 13th of March, by a proclamation addreſſed to the German empire, announcing his Pruſſian majeſty's actual receſſion from the grand confederacy. His majeſty ſtated the incredible efforts he had made to oppoſe this *almoſt*-unconquerable enemy; that he had made every poſſible ſacrifice to the common cauſe which the natural ſtrength of Pruſſia would permit; and that he is able no longer

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longer to take an active part, *from his own means*, without ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects. He concludes, therefore, with declaring his resolution to withdraw his troops from the protection of the empire, and to order them instantly to return to his own dominions.

The British minister, whom it was well known that his Prussian majesty regarded as no statesman, at once fell into the snare, and that famous treaty of subsidy was concluded, conformably to which the sum of near two millions sterling was to be paid to the court of Berlin for the service of an army of 62,000 men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian majesty's own appointment. Every article in this treaty betrayed the folly and incapacity of the British ministry; and the circumstance alone of a Prussian general being placed at the head of the troops was sufficient to render the agreement totally inefficient. The wealth of Britain was exhausted to purchase the aid of, at best, a nominal, perhaps a treacherous, ally---one already known to be devoid equally of honor and of honesty.

A general council of war was convened in the month of March at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by general Haddick. A main article of this plan was, that general Clairfait, an Austrian officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the duke of York should act under his orders---the prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand Imperial army. This his royal highness refused with disdain;* and, after much time lost in consulting the two courts, a compromise was at length effected, and it was determined that the emperor himself should take the field in person, and that in him should be vested

* Possibly the duke of York had never heard that Peter the Great served as a private soldier in his own army; or possibly his ideas of greatness might be different.

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veſted the ſupreme command. On the 9th of April his Imperial majeſty arrived at Bruſſels, where he was ſolemnly inaugurated duke of Brabant. Thence he proceeded to Valenciennes, where his preſence diffuſed at leaſt the appearance of joy; and, on the 16th, the whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau. On the following day they marched in eight columns to inveſt Landreci. The French aſſembled in force at the camp of Cæſar, near Cambray, from which they were, on the 23d, driven by general Otto; but on the very next day a general aſſault took place upon the different poſts of the allies in this quarter on the part of the French, now under the command of general Pichegru, in conſequence of a pre-concerted plan, which embraced the whole line of frontier from Treves to the ſea. They were for the moſt part repulſed; but the poſt of Moncron, where general Clairfait commanded, was attacked with far ſuperior force by Pichegru, in perſon, and carried, after a brave reſiſtance. In conſequence of this ſucceſs Courtray and Menin fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortreſs of Landreci, which had repelled the utmoſt efforts of prince Eugene in 1712, fell into the hands of the prince of Cobourg, after a ſiege of no long duration.

A variety of ſevere but indeciſive conflicts took place in the courſe of the next two months, intereſting only to readers of military hiſtory. About the middle of June, the French under general Jourdain, who commanded on the ſide of the Moſelle, paſſed the Sambre, and laid ſiege to the town of Charleroi. The danger to which this important place, and eventually Bruſſels itſelf, was expoſed, determined the prince of Cobourg to make one grand effort for its relief. On the 21ſt he reached Ath, and on the 24th effected a junction with the hereditary prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, who commanded in that quarter. The main body of the French army, under general Jourdain, was ſtrongly poſted at this time in the vicinity

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cinity of Fleurus, a place already famous in the annals of war, to cover the ſiege of Charleroi, on whom, upon the morning of the 26th, the prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack. The battle continued with unabating fury till near the cloſe of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced with immenſe loſs to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the ſcene of action. This was a great and deciſive victory. Charleroi and Bruſſels fell, without further reſiſtance, into the hands of the enemy.

General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the oppoſite ſide. Ypres, the key of Weſtern Flanders, was beſieged by 50,000 men, commanded by general Moreau. After a ſeries of engagements, in which the French were almoſt uniformly victorious, the Auſtrians were compelled to fall back upon Ghent, and Ypres ſurrendered on the 17th of June. The emperor, with his military favorite colonel Mack, now in utter deſpair of ſucceſs, left the army, after having in vain iſſued proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Low Countries to riſe in a maſs in order to repel the invaders.

During this time the duke of York enjoyed the honor of a ſeparate command at Tournay, a poſition which recent events made wholly untenable: it was therefore evacuated, the duke with his army retreating in the direction of Antwerp. What ſervice was rendered to the common cauſe by the Britiſh troops while ſtationed at Tournay does not clearly appear; at Fleurus they might perhaps have changed the fortune of the day.

No ſooner was the fate of the Netherlands thus decided, than lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of 10,000 men at Oſtend, the gallant remains of that army, waſted by long confinement on board the tranſports by ſickneſs and chagrin, which was deſtined to re-eſtabliſh royalty in Brittany. This able officer found his ſituation very critical, the French being in poſſeſſion of the country on all ſides

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ſides of him. It was deemed neceſſary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and ſkilful exertion, he accompliſhed on the 8th of July: the ſhipping in the harbour, amounting to 150 ſail, with the ammunition, ſtores, &c. on board, took their departure for Fluſhing. Thus Oſtend, and nearly at the ſame time Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French.

In the different and partial engagements which had taken place between general Pichegru and the prince of Cobourg ſince the fatal battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage. Mons, Oudenarde, and Nieuport, places widely diſtant, and ſoon after Mechlin, ſurrendered to the republican arms. Antwerp itſelf was no longer conſidered as a ſafe retreat. In this exigency the ſtadtholder ſolicited the States-General to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect. Diſaffection, diſtruſt, or at beſt apathy, every where prevailed, and a ſpeedy revolution in the government was to be apprehended.

About the middle of July general Kleber took poſſeſſion of Louvain, after defeating general Clairfait, who had poſſeſſion of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Fer. The laſt hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was relinquiſhed—Namur being on the night of the 16th abandoned by general Beaulieu; and on the 24th the French took quiet poſſeſſion of Antwerp, the allies having previouſly ſet fire to the immenſe magazines depoſited there. Great quantities of ſtores and ammunition nevertheleſs in different parts fell into the hands of the enemy. Sluys made a brave reſiſtance, but ſurrendered after a ſiege of ſix weeks, the garriſon, by a novelty in this ſtrange campaign, marching out with the honors of war. The ſtrong towns ſtill occupied by the allies on the French territory, Landreci, Queſnoy, Conde, and

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and Valenciennes, being now completely inſulated, ſucceſſively reverted to their former poſſeſſors.

The army under the duke of York was, at the beginning of Auguſt, ſtationed at Breda, whence, at the latter end of the month, they retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. But the French forces now re-collected under general Pichegru advancing rapidly, to the number of 80,000 men, early in September, towards this place, the duke on the 16th croſſed the Maeſe, and took a freſh poſition near Grave, and at the beginning of October he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. At the latter end of the month his royal highneſs paſſed the Waal, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen, which was evacuated in great confuſion, and with much loſs, on the 7th of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and, after a reſiſtance worthy of the beſt days of the republic, Grave, were ſucceſſively reduced. Scarcely could the allies now ſtand any where even upon the defenſive, much leſs form any rational or feaſible plan for recovering their ſtupendous loſſes.

During the operations of general Pichegru in Dutch Flanders, the Auſtrian general La Tour was totally defeated by general Jourdain near Liege, which city, as likewiſe Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. That able commander, the prince of Cobourg, was at this period, in conſequence, as believed, of the preſſing inſtances of the court of London, whoſe projects military and civil he held in avowed contempt, diſmiſſed ſuddenly from his high and painful pre-eminence: and his ſucceſſor, general Clairfait, after the moſt gallant efforts, was compelled early in October to repaſs the Rhine at Cologne. The French purſued the Imperial troops to the very margin of the river; and as the rear of the Auſtrian army embarked, they were inſultingly aſked, if that was the road to Paris?

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At the latter end of September the ſiege of Maeſtricht was formally commenced, and laſted to the beginning of November, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmoſphere ſeemed filled with balls, bombs, and ſhells, and ſcarcely was a place of ſafety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thouſand buildings, public and private, were ſaid to be deſtroyed, and a general ſtorm was intended on the 4th of November, when the governor, moved by the ſituation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties of the magiſtrates, conſented to articles of capitulation with general Kleber, who entered the place on that ſame day.

After this conqueſt the French armies enjoyed ſome weeks of comparative repoſe; but general Pichegru had ſtill greater deſigns in contemplation, and only waited for the advantage of the froſt, which ſet in with unuſual rigor about the middle of December. In the courſe of a week the Maeſe and the Waal were frozen over, and on the 27th a ſtrong column of French croſſed the former of thoſe rivers, while another corps made themſelves maſters of the Bommel. But the French general did not make his grand movement till the 10th of January, 1795, when the main body of his forces croſſed the Waal at different points, and made a general attack upon the lines of the allies, extending between Nimeguen and Arnheim, under the command of general Walmoden,—the duke of York having by this time prudently returned to England. The allies were defeated in every quarter. A precipitate retreat was ordered towards Amersfort and Deventer. In this retreat, which differed little from a flight, the wretched fugitives were expoſed to every ſpecies of diſtreſs which it is poſſible for human nature to ſuffer. From the want of common neceſſaries in the allied army, a dreadful ſickneſs and mortality prevailed, and the haraſſed and diſpirited troops, expoſed to the intenſe ſeverity of the weather, the drifting ſnow, and

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heavy falls of ſleet and rain, almoſt without clothing, frequently without ſuſtenance, without medicines, without tents, littered down in cold and damp churches and other public buildings, expired daily and nightly by hundreds, the compaſſionable victims of a fatal and unparalleled deluſion.

This laſt retreat was equivalent to a formal ſurrender of Holland into the hands of the French. In vain had the ſtadtholder endeavoured by manifeſtoes and proclamations to induce the Dutch nation to riſe in a maſs for the defence of their country. He who had long been the object of their hatred now became no leſs ſo of their contempt. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, ſurrendered to the French without reſiſtance; and the ſtadtholder, with his family, not without difficulty, and attended by all the marks of popular reſentment during his ſhort abode at the Hague, made his eſcape in an open boat from Scheveling on the 19th of January. On the ſucceeding day general Pichegru, who had conducted himſelf with uniform mildneſs and moderation, made his public entry into Amſterdam; and, by order of the States-General, every other fortreſs in the republic opened its gates to the French. On the 27th of January the proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Holland aſſembled, and a decree immediately paſſed for the total abolition of the ſtadtholderate, and the eſtabliſhment, under the protection of the republic of France, of a new proviſional government for the United Provinces.—Such was the termination of this ever-memorable campaign, conceived on the part of the Britiſh miniſtry in the ſpirit of madneſs, and conducted in that of the moſt complete imbecility.

The events of the war in which the Auſtrians and the auxiliary army of Pruſſians on the ſide of the Moſelle were engaged, during theſe tranſactions in the Low Countries, are of little comparative moment.

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At the latter end of May, the Pruſſian general Mullendorf, who was obliged to make ſome ſlight ſhow of co-operation, ſurpriſed the French in their entrenchments at Keyſerſlautern, and defeated them with conſiderable loſs. In the month of July the French in their turn, under the brave general Deſaix, attacked the Pruſſians, and carried, amid a terrible fire, the important poſts occupied by prince Hohenloe on the Platoberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts. In a few days they repeated their attack upon the whole chain of poſts from Neuſtadt to the Rhine with ſplendid ſucceſs, and both Auſtrians and Pruſſians were obliged to retreat with the greateſt precipitation. The Imperial army re-croſſed the Rhine, and the Pruſſians retired towards Gunterſbloom and Mentz. The recent acquiſition of Keyſerſlautern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves: and this was the whole equivalent received from the king of Pruſſia in return for the enormous ſubſidy of two millions granted by the Britiſh parliament to that ſelfiſh, crafty, and unprincipled monarch.

On the ſide of Spain and Italy alſo the armies of the republic were eminently ſucceſsful. In the beginning of February, 1794, a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, in which the French were conquerors. In the month of May another victory was gained near Ceret; and ſoon afterwards a third, of far more importance than the former two, over the principal Spaniſh army poſted in the vicinity of Collioure, by general Dugommier, the whole of the baggage and artillery falling into the hands of the French. A column was ordered by the Convention to be erected in memory of this exploit. The cities of Urgel, St. Elmo, and Bellegarde, ſurrendered to the armies of France, conducted by the heroic Dugommier. The Spaniards alſo, under their general, the count de l'Union, fought with great bravery, but were overpowered by ſuperior ſkill and numbers. Soon after the capture of Bellegarde, general Dugommier

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obtained another ſignal victory, but was, at the cloſe of it, unfortunately killed by the burſting of a ſhell. His death was avenged in a ſhort time by the defeat and death of his gallant opponent, the count de l'Union. On the weſtern ſide great advantages were gained by general Moncey, and the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian fell into the hands of the French, and a deep and dangerous impreſſion was made upon the whole extent of the Pyrenean frontier.

In Italy, to uſe the inflated ſtyle of M. Barrère, in his report to the Convention, victory was alſo in a ſtate of permanence. The Piedmonteſe had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, riſen in a maſs; but, being deſtitute of the enthuſiaſm of liberty, they conſtituted a body without a ſoul. The French forced the famous paſs of Mount Cenis, took poſſeſſion of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themſelves maſters of a great part of the open country of Piedmont.

It is now time to avert our eyes from ſcenes of diſaſter and diſgrace, and to take a conciſe view of the naval war, in which England maintained in all parts of the world her great and wonted ſuperiority. A very formidable armament, deſtined to act in the Weſt Indies under the command of two moſt diſtinguiſhed and gallant officers, ſir Charles Grey and ſir John Jervis, rendezvouſed early in the year in Carliſle-bay at Barbadoes, whence they ſailed, on the 3d of February, to the attack of Martinico, which ſurrendered, after a reſolute reſiſtance of ſeven weeks. About the ſame period Cape Tiburon, and ſome other poſts in St. Domingo, were reduced to ſubmiſſion by colonel Whitlock and commodore Ford. No ſooner was the reduction of Martinico effected than the troops were re-embarked, and landed on the iſland of St. Lucia, which capitulated on the 4th of April; and upon the 11th of the ſame month the fleet and army arrived off Guadaloupe, which, after a ſhort but brave defence, ſurrendered, with its dependencies, on the 20th. After theſe glorious ſucceſſes ſir Charles Grey returned

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returned to Martinico, leaving general Dundas, brother to the miniſter, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, to command at Guadaloupe. The ſequel of the hiſtory of this expedition is leſs flattering. General Dundas died of the fever incident to the climate at Guadaloupe, after a few days illneſs, early in June. This great loſs was followed by other diſaſtrous circumſtances. A French ſquadron off the iſland, June the 5th, from which a body of troops landing under the command of the celebrated Victor Hugues, attacked Fort Fleur d'Epée, which they carried by ſtorm; and the Engliſh retreated with conſiderable loſs to Fort Louis. This alſo was ſoon evacuated; and the troops, ſhattered and diſheartened, took refuge in Baſſe-terre. Sir Charles Grey, on the firſt intelligence of this attempt, ſailed from St. Kitt's with all the force he could collect, and, landing on the iſland of Guadaloupe on the 19th of June, he made an attempt, July 2, on the poſt of Point-à-Petre; but fortune, upon this occaſion, was not propitious, and the general was, after great efforts of valor, repulſed, with the loſs of 600 men. After this the forces were re-embarked; and Baſſe-terre, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, with the whole iſland and its dependencies, again reverted to France.

The progreſs of the Engliſh arms in the Mediterranean, ſubſequent to the evacuation of Toulon, was alſo flattering. Early in the month of February, 1794, lord Hood proceeded for Corſica, which was in a ſtate of revolt againſt the Convention, the inſurgents being excited to this reſiſtance by the Engliſh influence, under the conduct of their ancient and popular chief, Paſchal Paoli, who had been ſome years ſince reſtored to his country with honor by the Conſtituent Aſſembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza, being ſucceſſively ſurrendered or evacuated, the Corſicans who adhered to the French intereſt retreated to Baſtia, which held out againſt the united efforts of the Anglo-Corſicans and Engliſh till the 24th of May, when it

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it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole iſland, excepting Calvi, which held out till Auguſt, ſubmitted to the Engliſh. This appears to have been the favourite conqueſt of the war. Letters of convocation were forthwith iſſued for the Aſſembly of the General Conſult to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of Corſica, on Sunday the 8th of June, 1794, of which general Paoli was elected preſident. The repreſentatives of the Corſican nation immediately voted the union of Corſica with the Britiſh crown, and a conſtitutional act was framed extremely ſimilar to the French model of 1791, which had been ſo lately branded by lord Aukland, ambaſſador at the Hague, as the work of miſcreants, and the offſpring of preſumption and vanity. Sir Gilbert Elliot, repreſentative of his Britannic majeſty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately aſſumed the magnificent title of Viceroy. "Our minds have been prepared by PROVIDENCE," ſaid his Excellency, "for the fate which awaited us. The event of this happy day is only the completion of wiſhes we had previouſly formed. To-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united; and our motto ſhould be—*Amici e non di ventura.*"

The moſt remarkable features of this democratic form of monarchy, which gratuitouſly granted more than had even been aſked by the moſt daring reformers of Britain, were—the eſtabliſhment of the right of univerſal ſuffrage—the diſſolution of the legiſlative body at the end of two years—no ſenate or houſe of nobles—municipalities choſen by the people in every *pieve* or diſtrict; and, laſtly, the unlimited right of toleration without teſts or penal laws.

Far from admitting, as was formerly required of America, the unlimited and unconditional power of the Britiſh legiſlature to make laws for Corſica in all caſes whatſoever, the Conſtitutional Act merely and coldly ſays, "That the parliament of Corſica will always manifeſt its readineſs and deference to *adopt* all regulations, conſiſtent with its preſent conſtitution,

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conſtitution, which ſhall be enacted by his majeſty in his parliament of Great Britain for the extenſion and advantage of the external commerce of the empire and its dependencies;" which conceſſion plainly amounted to an affirmation of the right of the Corſican parliament to reject ſuch regulations as ſhould not appear to them to have this tendency. The inherent ſovereignty of the people is not only implied in the formation of this conſtitution, by a national convention "poſſeſſed," as the preamble of the act ſays, "of a ſpecific authority for this purpoſe," but expreſsly recogniſed for the viceroy, in declaring his acceptance of it, "on the part of the ſovereign king of Corſica, George III. king of Great Britain," ſays, "If his majeſty, therefore, accepts the crown, *which you have agreed to offer him*, it is becauſe he is determined to protect, and never to enſlave, thoſe from whom he receives it; and, above all, becauſe it is *given*, and not ſeized upon by violence." Upon the whole, according to the ideas which Mr. Burke and the other virulent declaimers againſt the French conſtitution and the mode of its eſtabliſhment had ſo long laboured to inculcate, this was a moſt Jacobinical tranſaction in all its relations. But men of a different ſtamp ſaw in it a noble, though unintentional, acknowledgment on the part of the Britiſh government that the principles on which the French revolution was originally founded were perfectly juſt; and that all the dreadful evils conſequent upon it aroſe not from the principles themſelves, but from the oppoſition made to their eſtabliſhment. By this tranſaction another crown, ſuch as it was, devolved upon the head of the king of Great Britain; but the advantage which the people of Britain were to reap from this ſort of political connection with Corſica never having been explained, muſt for ever remain amongſt the deep and inſcrutable arcana of government.

In the month of May, the Breſt fleet, amounting to twenty-ſix ſail of the line, under the command of admiral Villaret, anxious for the fate of a large convoy from America,

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rica, ventured to put to ſea, though it was known that lord Howe, the Britiſh admiral, with a force equal, or ſuperior, was cruizing off the harbour to intercept it. Early on the 28th the fleets came in view; and, after ſome diſtant firings, the Engliſh admiral, having by his maſterly manœuvres at length gained the weather-gage of the enemy, bore down upon them with full ſail on the 1ſt of June. A cloſe and deſperate engagement enſued, in which the hoſtile fleets exhibited prodigies of valor. Several ſhips on both ſides were diſmaſted; and the carnage, particularly on the part of the French, was dreadful. Le Vengeur, of ſeventy-four guns, went down during the action; and while the lower-deck ports were actually under water, and deſtruction inevitable, the air reſounded with the cry of VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE! At length the French admiral, finding the conteſt too unequal, crowded off, and was followed by thoſe of his ſhips in a condition to carry ſail. Of the others, ſix remained in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh admiral, and were brought ſafe into Plymouth. The French were conſoled in ſome degree for this humiliating defeat by the attainment of the object for which they riſked the engagement: their American convoy, amounting to 160 ſail, valued at five millions ſterling, and conveying an immenſe quantity of proviſions and naval ſtores, arrived ſafe in port a few days after the engagement.

During this ſummer wonderful changes took place in the interior ſtate and government of France. No ſooner had the republican party in 1792 accompliſhed the overthrow of the conſtitution than they became themſelves divided into two oppoſite and inveterate factions, that of the Gironde and that of the Mountain. The latter had no ſooner enjoyed a horrid and ſanguinary triumph over their unfortunate opponents than a ſecond diviſion was obſerved; and the conteſt, equally violent with the former, now lay between the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. In the midſt, however, of ſcenes of

of terror and of death, there are to be found ſome incidents which tend to ſoothe and ſoften the feelings of afflicted humanity. On the 3d of February, 1794, three deputies from the iſland of St. Domingo, one of whom was a negro and the others gens-de-couleur, were received by the Convention as the repreſentatives of the colony. On the ſucceeding day one of the deputies gave an affecting account of the troubles of this iſland; and they had no ſooner concluded than La Croix eagerly moved the entire abolition of ſlavery within the dominions of France. The National Convention roſe ſpontaneouſly to decree the propoſition, and the men of colour were all adopted into the number of French citizens. Shortly after this the juſtly-obnoxious decree of November, 1792, was formally repealed.

At the head of the faction of the Cordeliers were Hebert, Ronſin, Anacharſis Clootz, ſtyled the Apoſtle of Atheiſm, &c.—men who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildeſt theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the abſurdeſt extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March the Table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with a black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the ſociety, affirmed that tyranny exiſted in the republic. This was ſufficient to arouſe the jealouſy of Robeſpierre. On the 25th of March, theſe men, and many others of the ſame aſſociation, were arreſted, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of courſe condemned to the guillotine. Theſe executions were followed by thoſe of Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, Julien of Toulouſe, Herault Sechelles, and other popular deputies of the Convention, on pretence of engaging in counter-revolutionary projects. But what excited ſtill more amazement in the public was the arreſt of Danton, Philippeaux, and Camille Deſmoulins, &c. on the 31ſt of March. It is remarkable that St. Juſt, in the report preſented on this occaſion,

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occaſion, makes the profeſſion of atheiſm a principal charge againſt Fabre d'Eglantine. On the 2d of April, theſe perſons, and many others their pretended accomplices, fell under the fatal axe of the guillotine. Danton was a man of great parts, and ſeems to have been regarded by Robeſpierre in the formidable light of a rival for power and ſuperiority, which was, in the view of that execrable tyrant, the moſt heinous of all offences.

At this preriod it was decreed by the Convention that the remains of the famous Jean Jacques Rouſſeau ſhould be depoſited in the beautiful church of St. Génévieve, now ſtyled the Pantheon. The preſident, upon this occaſion, ſaid, "That illuſtrious patriot had left excellent leſſons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the Divinity. Theſe leſſons will for ever confound thoſe falſe philoſophers who profeſs neither to believe in a Providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only conſolation of mankind in their laſt moments."—Religion was now again the order of the day in the National Convention. The number of public executions, upon the moſt frivolous and wanton pretences, ſtill continued, nevertheleſs, to be almoſt incredible. M. Paliſſot, a dramatic author who had many years before written a comedy in ridicule of Rouſſeau, was now deſtined to expiate this offence with his life. He wrote to the municipality an acknowledgment of his error, and of the merits of Rouſſeau: "Yet," ſaid he, "if Rouſſeau was a god, you ought not to ſacrifice human victims to him."—This ſtriking expreſſion produced its effect, and Paliſſot was releaſed from his impriſonment.

In the month of May, the virtuous princeſs Elizabeth, ſiſter of the late king, and his faithful companion under misfortune, was, without any ſhadow of pretext, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, after a few vague and inſolent interrogatories, barbarouſly condemned to the ſentence of the guillotine, which ſhe ſuffered without betraying any other emotions than thoſe of humble and pious reſignation.

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On the 30th of this month Barrère brought forward the infamous decree for allowing no quarter to the Engliſh or Hanoverian troops; but the French officers and ſoldiery unanimouſly refuſed to carry this abominable mandate into execution.

No ſooner had Robeſpierre reached the ſummit of power than the baſis on which it ſtood ſeemed to totter under him. On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, a member of the Conventional Aſſembly, had the courage to demand that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national repreſentatives ſhould be again eſtabliſhed, and that no member ſhould be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal but in conſequence of a decree of accuſation paſſed by the Aſſembly itſelf, inſtead of an order of the Committee of Safety, where Robeſpierre, and the vile inſtruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Juſt, bore abſolute ſway. This was carried before the tyrant could recover from his ſurpriſe. From this time the party formed againſt him rapidly increaſed, and even his celebrated colleague, the artful, the penetrating, and inſidious Barrère, took a ſecret, though efficient, part in plotting his overthrow.

The ſuſpicions entertained by the tyrant of his danger appeared from the ſucceſſive ſpeeches which he pronounced at the Hall of the Jacobins at this period; and one in particular, on the 16th of July, in which he declared that a counter-revolutionary committee actually exiſted in the republic. That he meditated the ſpeedy deſtruction of all thoſe whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifeſt; and it was rumored that he meant at the ſame time openly to aſſume the office of Dictator of the Republic. Whether he was aware that Barrère was of the number of his adverſaries is doubtful. That extraordinary man made, on the 23d of July, a ſpeech in the Convention, well calculated to lull him into falſe ſecurity. "This government," ſaid he, "is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the Convention

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Convention not to ſleep on its victories, but to ſtrike terror amongſt the conſpirators." On the 25th of July, Robeſpierre made an oration in the Convention, in which he plainly indicated his future project. "What a terrible uſe," ſaid he, "have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function." The ſpeech was heard with ſymptoms of contempt; many things in it conteſted; and it was evident that his influence in the Convention was loſt. This was the critical moment. The armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was ſtill at his devotion; but his reſolution, and even his ſagacity, ſeemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining, and the applauſes of the galleries attended the ſpeeches of his opponents, who, on their part, perceived that they had already gone too far to recede.

In the ſitting of the 9th Thermidor (July 27) Billaud Varennes complained openly, "that the armed force of Paris was entruſted to parricidal hands. Henriot," ſaid he, "was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to ſupport him. Need I name him?—Robeſpierre." He then proceeded to recount with energy his acts of blood and oppreſſion: and accuſed him, without reſerve, of harbouring an infamous deſign of making himſelf dictator. "In order to effect his purpoſe," ſaid this orator, "he has reſolved to mutilate the Convention, and to murder the repreſentatives of the people." Robeſpierre here darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" He was not ſuffered to ſpeak in his defence; and Tallien roſe "to congratulate the Convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conſpirators unmaſked. Every thing," ſaid he, "announces that the enemy of the nation is about to fall. In the houſe of that guilty man, who now ſtands humbled with the conſciouſneſs of detected crimes, and overwhelmed with that deteſtation which

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which his infamous deſigns againſt liberty have ſo juſtly merited, were formed thoſe liſts of proſcriptions which have ſtained with ſo much blood the altars of riſing liberty. He copied the example of the deteſtable Sylla. His proſcriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power and the eſtabliſhment of a perpetual dictatorſhip.—Was it to ſubject ourſelves to ſo abject and degrading a tyranny that we brought to the ſcaffold the laſt of the Capets, that we declared eternal war againſt kings, and ſwore to eſtabliſh liberty as the price of life? No! the ſpirit of liberty has not ſunk ſo low. I invoke the ſhade of the virtuous Brutus; like him I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the Convention do not deliver him to the ſword of juſtice. Let us, republicans, accuſe him with the courage which ſprings from loyalty in the preſence of the French people: and, as it is of the utmoſt importance that the chiefs of the armed force do no miſchief, I move that Henriot and all his ſtaff be arreſted. I move that our ſittings be permanent until the ſword of the law has ſecured to us this revolution. I alſo move that ROBESPIERRE and his creatures be immediately arreſted." Theſe motions were paſſed amid tumults of applauſe.—Barrère was now called upon to ſpeak in the name of the Committee of Public Safety; and after propoſing that the national guard reſume its original organization, and that the mayor of Paris be reſponſible for the ſafety of the national repreſentation, he joined without reſerve in the invectives againſt the fallen tyrant, who has had the art, ſaid he, of wearing ſo many different maſks; and, when he had no longer occaſion for his creatures, has made no ſcruple to ſend them to the guillotine, as Camille Deſmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and others.—Robeſpierre, loſt in amazement and conſternation, ſubmitted without farther reſiſtance to the decree of the Convention, and was guarded by the proper officers to the priſon of the Luxembourg; the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refuſed

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to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time Henriot had found means to eſcape, and, with the activity inſpired by deſperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Convention. The repreſentatives of the people ſhewed in this moment of danger much courage and preſence of mind. No ſooner were they apprized of the ſtate of things than they declared Robeſpierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief: and a proclamation was iſſued, exhorting the people to aſſert their liberty and defend the National Convention. In conſequence of theſe meaſures the troops of Henriot almoſt univerſally abandoned him; and he himſelf, with the remainder, took poſſeſſion of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorouſly aſſaulted by a determined party of the conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oiſe and other commiſſioners of the Convention, who ruſhed boldly forward into the hall of the commune. The inſurgents, after a ſhort and fruitleſs reſiſtance, attempted in the laſt agonies of their deſpair to turn their arms againſt themſelves. Robeſpierre, already wounded in the ſide by a ſabre, diſcharged a piſtol in his mouth with no other effect than to ſhatter and diſfigure his countenance. Le Bas ſhot himſelf dead upon the ſpot, and Couthon ſtabbed himſelf with a poinard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their deſire, and ſhockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. Robeſpierre and the reſt of the criminals outlawed by the Convention were immediately conveyed to the Revolutionary Tribunal, merely for the purpoſe of identifying their perſons, and then re-conveyed to the Palace of Juſtice, and that very evening, to the number

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number of twenty-one, executed in the Place de la Révolution, amid the loudeſt and moſt univerſal acclamations of joy ever remembered. The eyes of the ſpectators were chiefly fixed upon Robeſpierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghaſtly picture of blood, mingled with duſt, and covered with wounds. Robeſpierre was executed laſt, but remained on the ſcaffold wholly ſpeechleſs, and petrified with horror.

Such was the merited doom of a tyrant, deſtined, by univerſal conſent, to be ranked in the black catalogue of the Neros, the Catalines, and the Borgias, whoſe names are held up from age to age to the eternal execration of mankind. Immediately after this great and happy event a very general alteration and melioration took place in the different branches of the proviſional government of France. The Jacobine Club was entirely aboliſhed, and the remains of the Gironde party, excluded and proſcribed from the month of May, 1793, to the number of ſeventy-one, were now reſtored to their ſeats in the Convention. Dumas, preſident of the horrid Revolutionary Tribunal, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuſer, Carrier, conventional commiſſioner in La Vendée, and various others of the ſame deſcription, loſt their lives moſt deſervedly on the public ſcaffold. At the ſame time hundreds were releaſed from the different ſtate priſons, who, but for the late revolution, would probably have fallen victims to the Robeſpierrian tyranny; and the infamous decree of the Convention, for refuſing quarter to the Engliſh and Hanoverian ſoldiery, was formerly reſcinded. The inſurgents of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire had never been completely ſubdued, and thouſands were ſtill ſheltered in the natural receſſes of that romantic country under their leaders Charette and Stoſſlet. A general amneſty, however, being now publiſhed, they almoſt univerſally laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the authority of the Convention. But it deſerves remark, that, during the moſt critical periods of this

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this unparalleled revolution, amid internal contention and convulſion, the Gallic like the Roman republic roſe victorious over the world; and ſince the ſubverſion of the antient monarchy, the ſpirit of atheiſm and anarchy had uniformly triumphed over that of ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm.

The miſcellaneous events of the year in Britain ſtill remain to be related. In the month of April Mr. Jay, chief-juſtice of the United States of America, arrived in London, as miniſter plenipotentiary, to adjuſt the exiſting differences between that republic and the Britiſh government. His reception was at the firſt cool and revolting; but in proportion as the allied armies receded, it was remarked that the negotiation with America advanced. The general ſtate of things in England was at this period ſo truly unpleaſant, and the differences which prevailed in politics under the preſent adminiſtration entered ſo deeply into private and ſocial life, and were ſo ſubverſive of its comforts, that great numbers of families of the old Whig ſtamp, whoſe anceſtors had been moſt warmly attached to the principles of the revolution, and to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, now ſought refuge in the boſom of the American republic. Amongſt other emigrants of this deſcription was the celebrated Dr. Prieſtley, who had been driven from his philoſophical retirement in the centre of the kingdom by the mad outrages of a barbarous populace, excited and encouraged by perſons, however exalted above them in rank, ſcarcely leſs barbarous than they. A Chatham, a Lanſdown, or a Fox, would have paid juſt reverence to the virtues and talents of this illuſtrious character; whoſe zeal, as a theologian, for the diffuſion of his peculiar tenets, was both natural and laudable. If his opinions were erroneous, argument might be oppoſed by argument, and the cauſe of truth would be eventually the gainer. But, under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, bigotry and malignity advanced with an accelerated progreſs, and every ſpecies of improvement, moral, intellectual, or political, ſeemed gradually to become

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come the object first of cold indifference to this insidious statesman, then of dislike, and at length of fear, of hatred, and of horror. "Friends of the miserable," says a writer of sensibility and genius,* "you who presented Mr. Pitt with your confidence, because you expected he would realize your humane wishes, refer the influence this man has exerted upon his age to the standard of your feelings, and in his actions try if you can discover not the habit, but a few casual sallies of goodness." When such a man bore sway it cannot be a matter of wonder that the persecuted and oppressed should be ardently desirous to withdraw far beyond the sphere of his baleful influence; though this could not in the nature of things be effected without making great and mournful sacrifices. It is true that philosophy, though it cannot and ought not to destroy the finer feelings of human nature,—nay, though it adds to their force and fervor, affords consolations in adversity, which, to gross and vulgar minds, must remain for ever unknown. "A wise man," says a celebrated writer, who was, at the time he penned these beautiful reflections, an exile from his native land, "looks upon himself as a citizen of the world; and when you ask him where his country lies, points, like Anaxagoras, with his finger to the heavens.—Let us march therefore intrepid wherever we are led by the course of human accidents. On what coast soever we are thrown by them we shall not find ourselves absolute strangers. We shall meet with beings endowed with the same faculties, and subject to the same laws of nature We shall see the same virtues and vices varied in a thousand different modes. We shall feel the same revolution of the seasons, and the same sun and moon will guide the course of the year. The same azure vault, bespangled with stars, will be spread over our heads; and whilst our minds are occupied with high and philosophical contemplations, it

* "Essay on the public Merits of Mr. Pitt," by Dr. Beddoes.

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imports us little what ground we may happen to tread upon."* BOLINGBROKE's *Letters on Hiſtory*, vol. ii. p. 246.

The perſons who in the month of May had been committed to priſon, on the charge of a democratic conſpiracy to overturn the government, were kept in cloſe confinement the whole of the ſummer. It alſo happened that two men, Watt and Downie, on grounds totally different, were brought to trial in Scotland for high-treaſon at this juncture; and this incident might be regarded as the prologue to the fearful and bloody tragedy which it was in contemplation of the adminiſtration to perform in England; and their conviction might be ſuppoſed to have a powerful effect on the minds of the Engliſh juries. Watt was a ſpy employed by government, of a character infamouſly profligate; and he was inſtructed to enter himſelf as a member of the popular ſocieties, in order to detect their ſecret machinations, and to give information againſt them whenever

* The language and ſentiments of the bigots who pretend to candor are well deſcribed by the celebrated Wieland in his Tract on Liberty of Reaſoning. "We wiſh not to tyrannize over conſciences; you are at liberty to believe what you can, only get out from among us; lay down your offices, give up your incomes; quit your habitations; forſake your country; renounce your whole civil exiſtence. Go and look out for a place in the ſandy wilds of Africa, or in the deſolated iſlands of the Southern Ocean, where you may philoſophize and be hungry as much as you pleaſe."

Although the general reception which Dr. Prieſtley met with in America was ſuch as his high character ſo juſtly merited, he ſoon had occaſion to ſee and feel that bigotry and malevolence were not confined to England. In a letter from Mr. Jefferſon, dated Jan. 18, 1800, that diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman and patriot thus expreſſes himſelf: "How deeply have I been chagrined at the perſecutions which fanaticiſm and monarchy have excited againſt you even here. I regretted that your friend, before he had fixed a choice of poſition, did not viſit the valleys on each ſide the Blue Ridge in Virginia.—You would have found there equal ſoil, the fineſt climate and moſt healthy on the earth, the homage of univerſal reverence and love, and the power of the country ſpread over you as a ſhield."

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ever called upon. It appears from the trial that he deemed his ſervices not ſufficiently rewarded by government, and that he went ſo far beyond his commiſſion as to propoſe, in all appearance ſeriouſly, treaſonable deſigns,—ſuch as ſeizing the caſtle of Edinburgh, the public bank, and the perſons of the judges, &c.—to ſome of his aſſociates, who poſitively rejected to adopt any meaſures for the attainment of their purpoſes "which might diſturb the public peace, or ſhed the blood of their countrymen." This informer, being himſelf informed againſt, was apprehended and tried for this offence; and though he alleged with plauſibility that he had ſpoken and acted with no other view than to diſcover the ſecret purpoſes of thoſe whoſe conduct he was ordered to obſerve, the proofs againſt him were ſuch as to induce the jury to return without heſitation a verdict of guilty, and he was ſoon after executed;—this government ſpy being the only man convicted and puniſhed for the crime he was employed to detect. The ſecond delinquent, Downie, was a weak illiterate mechanic, who had been fooliſh and culpable enough to liſten in ſtupid ſilence, and probably aſtoniſhment, to the wild ſuggeſtions of Watt, without any active concurrence whatever. The jury found him alſo guilty, although the offence could amount to no more than miſpriſion of treaſon; but they thought proper to recommend him to mercy, and he afterwards received a pardon from the king.

While this matter ſtill continued to agitate in ſome degree the public mind, another ſubject of alarm aroſe, and a dreadful rumor was on a ſudden raiſed of an attempt to aſſaſſinate the king. The perſons implicated in this charge were one Le Maitre, apprentice to a watchmaker in Denmark-ſtreet, William Higgins, apprentice to a chemiſt in Fleet-ſtreet, and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-ſtall in the vicinity of Lincoln's-inn. Their accuſer was one Upton, alſo an apprentice or journeyman to a

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watchmaker. The conſpirators were apprehended, by a warrant from the duke of Portland, on the 27th of September, and underwent ſeveral examinations before the privy-council. It was depoſed by the informer, Upton, that an inſtrument was to have been conſtructed in the form of a walking-ſtick, in which was to have been inſerted a braſs tube, through which a poiſoned dart was to have been *blown*, at ſome convenient opportunity, by the villain Le Maitre, at his majeſty; but when or where was not determined upon. This marvellous ſtory, more fit for the Arabian Tales than ſerious hiſtory, *ſeemed* for a time to be credited by the miniſtry, and the perſons accuſed were committed for trial; but, after a long and ſevere impriſonment, the evidence againſt them was found ſo inconſiſtent, abſurd, and incredible, that the whole affair fell into contempt, and the men were, without any trial, declared innocent of the charge, and ſet at liberty.

Under the firſt impreſſion made by this ridiculous fable, the ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, iſſued for the trial of the ſtate priſoners confined in the Tower of London on a charge of high-treaſon, was opened at the Seſſions-Houſe, Clerkenwell, by the preſident, lord chief-juſtice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury, which, in the courſe of their proceedings, found a bill of indictment againſt Thomas Hardy, John Thelwall, John Horne Tooke, and ten other perſons,—John Holcroft, one of the number, who, by concealment, had eſcaped the previous tædium of confinement, voluntarily ſurrendering himſelf in court upon the occaſion; and on the 25th of the ſame month they were arraigned before the Special Commiſſion at the Old-Bailey. The members of the jury ſworn to try the general iſſue of this memorable cauſe were not only very zealous friends of the government, but adherents of the adminiſtration, and moſt of them members of the loyal aſſociations in and near London; but, through the admirable precautions of the law, they were alſo men impartial, intelligent, and of characters highly reſpectable.

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The indictment was of uncommon length, and contained no less than nine overt-acts of high-treason, all resolvable into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention with a view to subvert the government of the country and to *levy war* against the king.

By a long-established construction of law, the *attempt* to levy war against the government, or, in other words, any conspiracy against the government, is no less high-treason than the *actual* levying of war, which is declared to be treason by the original statute of Edward III. because it is, by no very harsh interpretation, presumed to involve in it a design against the life of the king, necessarily endangered by such an attempt, and which is also declared to be treason by the express words of that famous statute. The real crime, therefore, divested of the technical phraseology of the law, charged upon these people, was their conspiring to employ means of coercion and force against the government in order to accomplish its absolute subversion, or at least to effect a material change and alteration in it. The attorney-general, sir John Scott, spoke no less than nine hours in confirmation of the accusation, and with the view of proving the overt-acts charged against them in the indictment, which consisted merely in a tedious recapitulation of the whole proceedings of the two associations, which had been long known to the nation at large, and were publicly advertised in the common news-papers. These proceedings, from their palpable want of decorum, temper, and judgment had excited the extreme disapprobation of all intelligent persons, and of none more than the advocates of liberal and rational reform; but that they amounted to the crime of high-treason was an idea too extravagant to enter into the head of any man but that of an apostate patriot or a court-lawyer.

Thomas Hardy, shoemaker, the formidable chief of this pretended conspiracy, was the first person brought to the bar; and against him was the elaborate oration of the attorney

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torney-general primarily levelled: but happily for the priſoner, and eventually for the public, Mr. Erſkine, ſo long the ornament of his profeſſion, who was retained as counſel for Hardy, employed his great talents and brilliant eloquence with the moſt complete ſucceſs in his defence, and that of his colleagues and aſſociates, from the charge in queſtion. "The tranſactions," Mr. Erſkine remarked, "which conſtituted the body of the proof were not the peculiar tranſactions of the priſoner, but of immenſe bodies of the king's ſubjects in various parts of the kingdom, aſſembled without the ſmalleſt reſerve, and giving to the public, through the channel of the daily prints, a minute and regular journal of their proceedings. Not a ſyllable had we now heard that we had not been acquainted with for weeks and months before the proſecution was commenced."

The principal witneſſes againſt the priſoner were two infamous wretches, ſpies of government, of the names of Taylor and Goſling. Theſe vile inſtruments of corruption enumerated ſeveral inſtances of raſh and inflammatory expreſſions, not perſonally affecting the priſoner Hardy, uſed at different meetings of the popular ſocieties, which might, no doubt, come under the vague and general idea of ſedition; but of any formed deſign of ſubverting the government, or uſing any ſpecies of force or coercion reſpecting it, there exiſted no ſhadow of evidence. Theſe democratic and over-heated partizans of reform undoubtedly flattered themſelves, that, in conſequence of the weight which a petition from the national aſſembly, or convention of delegates, as they affected to ſtyle it—and which could be no other than a general committee deputed from the friends of reform in different parts of the kingdom, without the leaſt pretence to exerciſe legal authority or juriſdiction—would carry with it, the legiſlature would become convinced of the political expediency and neceſſity of acceding to their prayer: and certainly the ſenſe of the nation muſt be, in ſome

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ſome mode or other, very forcibly expreſſed, before the parliament will, or indeed ought, to hazard ſo great, though probably ſo beneficial, a change. The legality of ſuch a delegation as that in contemplation had never been queſtioned; on the contrary, it was juſtified by recent precedents both in England and Ireland: but to dream of oppoſing the authority of this conventional committee, without arms, without money, without the ſupport of any perſons more eminent than Thomas Hardy, ſhoemaker, John Thelwall, itinerant lecturer, Thomas Holcroft, comedian, &c. would have been the extremity, not of political criminality merely, but of folly, and even of madneſs. The grand object at which theſe aſſociations aimed was unqueſtionably to effect a reform in parliament upon the viſionary, if not pernicious, principles of the duke of Richmond,—univerſal ſuffrage and annual election. It is true that theſe aſſociations contained a conſiderable proportion of concealed republicans, converts to the novel and extravagant doctrines of Paine; and there can be no doubt but that theſe people hoped, and perhaps, in the height of their enthuſiaſm, believed, that a radical reform in parliament, upon democratic principles, would eventually lead to the eſtabliſhment of a democratic government; but this did not amount to treaſon, or even ſedition, or to any offence againſt the exiſting laws at all. Certainly, under the moſt ſevere control of the moſt deſpotic government, men cannot be amenable to puniſhment for hoping and believing. As it was, however, well known that theſe aſſociations were infected with the leaven of republicaniſm, it became government to keep a watchful eye upon their proceedings, to check their licentiouſneſs, and, by a timely interpoſition, to curb their inſolence long before they had reached the limits of high-treaſon; and their raſh and ſeditious conduct, if the groſſeſt diſreſpect and the moſt vulgar and virulent abuſe of government deſerves the name of ſedition, laid them ſufficiently open to legal animadverſion: but to accuſe them of the crime of treaſon was to confound things

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things the moſt eaſy to diſtinguiſh and the moſt important to be diſtinguiſhed, and tended to excite a powerful intereſt in the breaſts of all ſober and diſpaſſionate perſons in favour of men, the tenor of whoſe public proceedings they had previouſly and highly diſapproved. Had the miniſtry ſucceeded in this infamous proſecution,—which no attorney-general, however reſpectable his private character, or whatever plea he might ſet up of profeſſional duty, could engage in without incurring eternal diſgrace,—had they once dipped their hands in blood, they would moſt ſurely have gone on in the ſame ſanguinary courſe till the whole land had become an ACELDAMA—a ſcene of carnage and deſolation.

A miſerably feeble attempt was made on the part of the crown-lawyers to prove that the aſſociations in queſtion had armed themſelves againſt the government; whereas, on examination, it appeared merely that a few pikes had been procured, to defend themſelves, in caſe of neceſſity, againſt the attacks of the mob at Sheffield, and other populous places where they held their meetings. The Correſponding Society had applied to Mr. Francis to preſent their petition to parliament in the courſe of the preceding year; and that gentleman proved in evidence, that upon this occaſion Mr. Hardy, ſecretary to the aſſociation, had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the ſociety, to evince that there was nothing ſeditious in their conduct, and that their object was purely a parliamentary reform. The trial was protracted to the unprecedented and monſtrous length of ſeven days; and, the evidence being cloſed, the jury, after a ſhort deliberation, brought in their unanimous verdict of NOT GUILTY—a verdict than which none ever pronounced in an Engliſh court of juſtice gave more exquiſite ſatisfaction or was more extenſively important in its conſequences. Notwithſtanding the numerous errors, obliquities, and corruptions, which pervaded almoſt every part of the legiſlative and executive

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branches of government, it was perceived with tranſport that the fountain of criminal juſtice ſtill retained all its orignal purity. The ſurrounding populace could not be prevented from attending *Citizen* Hardy, whoſe conduct had been throughout firm and tranquil, and the counſellors Erſkine and Gibbs, to their reſpective houſes, amid the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe.

After an interval of eleven days—no doubt days of chagrin and perplexity on the part of the miniſtry—was brought to the bar of this high court of juſtice the celebrated John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a prieſt of the church of England—a man poſſeſſed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and blended with a conſiderable alloy of eccentricity. Of obſcure and nameleſs origin, he ſuddenly appeared in the political world as an extravagant and erring ſpirit burſt from its confine. He firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a violent partizan of Mr. Wilkes, at the time of the famous Middleſex conteſt—being then curate of Brentford, where the election was held. Such was the enthuſiaſtic ardor of his patriotic zeal at this early period of his life, that, to preſerve the liberties of his country inviolate, he publicly declared his readineſs to dye his black coat red. He poſſeſſed no mean degree of learning and knowledge, and his powers of elocution and ſelf-poſſeſſion were very uncommon. His habitual influence over the wills and paſſions of thoſe with whom he was connected indicated a mind of great energy. On ſome occaſions he exhibited himſelf to the judicious part of the public as a ſincere and enlightened champion of the liberties of the people, and on others as an artful and aſpiring demagogue. This ſingular man had the preſumption, at the laſt general election, to offer himſelf as a candidate for the city of Weſtminſter—pretending to be offended at the virtual compromiſe which had taken place between the court and country parties in the perſons of lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

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On the eventual failure of his hopes, although he polled a very great number of votes, he preſented a petition to the houſe of commons againſt the return, drawn in the moſt audacious terms of political invective and reproach, but containing alſo much indiſputable and melancholy truth. This petition, being referred, in the uſual mode, to a committee, was declared frivolous and vexatious; but by a wiſe policy, too frequently and fatally departed from in matters of higher moment, no farther notice whatever was taken of it by the houſe.

On this trial of Mr. Tooke, it appeared, to the general ſurpriſe, that this gentleman, ſuppoſed ſo vehemently democratic, had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform—that he very rarely attended the meetings of the ſocieties—and had even incurred their ſuſpicion and diſlike on this account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the houſe of peers as an uſeful and neceſſary branch of the conſtitution; and he had uniformly reprobated the duke of Richmond's plan of univerſal ſuffrage. In a converſation with major Cartwright on the ſubject of reform, Mr. Tooke had made uſe of the following familiar but expreſſive illuſtration:—"You would go to Windſor, but I ſhould chooſe to ſtop at Hounſlow."—The moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending this trial was the examination of the duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, who were ſubpœna'd as witneſſes by Mr. Tooke. The former was interrogated merely as to the authenticity of his famous letter to colonel Sharman, in order to ſhew that, as to the matter of reform, the correſponding and conſtitutional ſocieties did not extend their ideas farther than one of his majeſty's cabinet-miniſters; and the latter to prove that the mode of conducting the buſineſs was ſimilar to that adopted by Mr. Pitt and the reformers of 1780. On this occaſion the unparalleled meanneſs and baſeneſs of Mr. Pitt's diſpoſition diſplayed itſelf in the moſt conſpicuous manner. To a variety of very material queſtions relative

lative to the Weſtminſter convention in that and the following years he was *ſpeechleſs*, being ſeized with a total want of recollection. With great difficulty, however, he at length was brought to recollect a meeting at the Thatched-Houſe Tavern, in May 1782. Mr. Tooke aſked him what that meeting was but a convention of delegates from different great towns and counties, ſent by committees of thoſe towns and counties, of England? He ſaid he did not recollect how that meeting was compoſed.---Mr. Tooke then aſked whether he did not recollect that it had been objected in the houſe of commons, reſpecting the petition actually preſented, that it came from perſons in a delegated capacity? He ſaid he had no recollection of any ſuch thing. ---Mr. Sheridan, being immediately afterwards examined, gave a perfectly clear and accurate account of the proceedings of that æra. He had met Mr. Tooke in 1780 at a convention, or meeting of delegates, from different parts, who were to conſider the beſt means of procuring a parliamentary reform, and to act for thoſe who deputed them. He was himſelf a delegate for Weſtminſter. The matter, he ſaid, was notorious. Mr. Sheridan enumerated the places where theſe meetings were held---mentioning, in particular, Guildhall, the Thatched-Houſe Tavern, and the duke of Richmond's at Privy-Garden. Here Mr. Pitt begged leave to correct his evidence, and confeſſed that he was preſent at ſome meetings in Privy-Garden, where there were delegates from different countries;—*i. e.* he confeſſed that he was himſelf chargeable with the very ſame act for which, now he had abandoned the cauſe of parliamentary reform, he was engaged in a moſt profligate and murderous attempt to exterminate thoſe by the ſword of juſtice who ſtill adhered to it under all difficulties and diſcouragements.---The jury retired for a few minutes only previous to their returning a verdict of NOT GUILTY. An involuntary burſt of acclamation filled the court, which was inſtantly

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inſtantly re-echoed by the populace without, who, as on the former occaſion, eſcorted the counſel to their chambers.

A feeble attempt was made to proſecute this infamous buſineſs by proceeding to the trial of John Thelwall—a man whoſe general character was to the laſt degree contemptible, but againſt whom nothing was proved excepting ſome intemperate expreſſions at the famous popular meeting at Chalk-Farm, and in his lecture-room, which were ſupported only by the teſtimony of the ſpies, Lynam and Taylor, whoſe evidence was afterwards rendered nugatory, or worſe, by that of two other witneſſes. The jury, without heſitation, brought in a verdict of NOT GUILTY.

The conduct of the cabinet-miniſters in this extraordinary buſineſs—their mode of inveſtigating the tranſactions of the aſſociations in queſtion, and of ſecuring the requiſite evidence of the ſeveral witneſſes for the crown in theſe ſucceſſive trials—was ſuch as fully to juſtify the memorable obſervation of Dr. Swift, who ſays, "that thoſe diligent enquiries into remote and problematical guilt, with a new power of enforcing them by chains and dungeons to every perſon whoſe face a miniſter thinks fit to diſlike, are not only oppoſite to that maxim which declareth it better that ten guilty men ſhould eſcape than one innocent ſuffer, but likewiſe leave a gate wide open to the whole tribe of informers, the moſt accurſed, proſtitute, and abandoned race that GOD ever permitted to plague mankind."

Conſidering the ſtate of parties in the kingdom at this time, the acquittal of theſe perſons excited a much more general ſenſation of ſatisfaction than might previouſly have been expected. The truth is, that the ſelfiſh as well as the generous feelings were intereſted on this occaſion; and, in the courſe of his pleadings, Mr. Erſkine very happily quoted a remark of the celebrated Dr. Johnſon on the acquittal of lord George Gordon:—"I am glad he was not convicted of this conſtructive treaſon; for, though I hate him, I love my country, and I love myſelf." Of all the wicked inventions

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ventions of lawyers, the doctrine of conſtructive treaſon, by which unwary people may be convicted of a capital offence while unconſcious of the violation of any law, is perhaps the worſt. But Mr. Erſkine, on this momentous occaſion, ſpoke like a man inſpired, and at once redeemed the honor of his profeſſion, and eſtabliſhed the ſafety of his country. Had the men arraigned upon ſuch an accuſation,* ſupported by ſuch evidence, been capitally convicted, and the ſentence been carried into execution, it would moſt unqueſtionably have been an horrible murder, perpetrated in the forms and under the pretext of law. But the very ſuppoſition is a libel upon the glorious inſtitution of JURIES.

In the autumn of this year arrived in England, from his celebrated embaſſy to the court of Pekin, lord Macartney. The principal object of his miſſion was to conclude a commercial treaty with the government of China, and to obtain, if poſſible, an extenſion of privileges for the Engliſh merchants; more particularly to procure permiſſion to land their commodities at ſome port nearer to the capital than Canton. The ambaſſador took his departure from England, at the latter end of September, 1792, in the Lion man of war of 64 guns, and in the month of July following he reached Jangangfoe-Bay in the Yellow Sea, which waſhes the north-eaſtern coaſt of China, whence the ambaſſador

* The writer of this Hiſtory has been at much pains to aſcertain the intrinſic validity of the charge againſt theſe ſocieties; not whether there was *legal evidence* of their intention when aſſembled in convention—ſuch as had already been actually and harmleſsly held both in Ireland and England—to uſurp the powers of government; for it is clear as the noon-day ſun there was not; but whether any ſuch ſecret deſign really exiſted in *any* individuals, *not provable* by the eſtabliſhed rules of evidence. But even of this he has not been able to diſcover the ſlighteſt ground of ſuſpicion or ſhadow of preſumption: on the contrary, all circumſtances concur to the forming of an oppoſite concluſion; though at a ſubſequent period, inflamed by the ſpirit of revenge, ſome of the members of theſe aſſociations may, with too much probability, be ſuppoſed to have engaged in machinations highly dangerous and criminal.

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baſſador and his train were conveyed up the great river Tyenſing to the city of the ſame name, in junks or barges, under the eſcort of a mandarin guard, who were watchful to prevent the leaſt communication with the inhabitants, pitching their tents at night exactly oppoſite the ſpot where the junks lay at anchor. On the 11th of Auguſt they arrived at Tyenſing, where they received refreſhments and preſents, of no great value, on the part of the emperor, the famous Kien Long, who had already governed that vaſt empire with uninterrupted ſucceſs and reputation more than half a century. From Tyenſing they ſtill proceeded in their voyage up the river to the city of Tong-tchew, within twelves miles of Pekin. After a ſhort interval of reſt at Tong-tchew, the ambaſſador and his ſecretary, ſir George Stanton, ſet out in palanquins provided for the purpoſe, which conveyed them to the metropolis—the train following in covered carriages. The emperor being at this ſeaſon of the year uſually reſident at Jehol, his ſummer-palace in Tartary, beyond the great wall, orders were ſent that the ambaſſador ſhould proceed thither. On the 7th of September he arrived at Jehol; and on the 14th his excellency was honored with his firſt audience of the emperor, at five o'clock in the morning. The ambaſſador had brought with him from England the moſt ſplendid and coſtly preſents which were ever offered by one monarch to the acceptance of another; but it was obſervable that they were received with marked indifference, or rather haughtineſs; and care had been taken to paint in large Chineſe characters, upon the flags pendent from the yachts and land-carriages, 'AMBASSADOR bearing TRIBUTE from the Country of ENGLAND.' And although the emperor himſelf behaved with decorum and politeneſs to the ambaſſador, he would enter into no treaty, he would grant no new privileges; and well aware, as was plainly intimated, of the nature and extent of the uſurpations of England in Hindoſtan, he would not ſuffer the king of Great Britain to ſet his

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his cloven foot beyond the narrow ſpell-bound circle of Canton.

Early in the month of October the emperor and his court, attended by the ambaſſador and his train, returned to Pekin, within a very ſhort time ſubſequent to which his excellency had his laſt audience of his imperial majeſty, who delivered to him a letter, in anſwer to that from the king of England, and alſo a POEM of his own compoſing, incloſed in a roll covered with yellow ſilk. This was accompanied with ſeveral cheſts of preſents; and the ambaſſador, who had made great preparations for paſſing the winter in Pekin, was officially apprized that this was the ſignal of departure. On the 9th of October his excellency and his ſuite left Pekin with ſome precipitation, and proceeded to Tong-tchew, whence they were conveyed in junks, as before, through the interior of that immenſe empire, by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the ſouthern extremity of China, reaching Canton in perfect ſafety, after a variety of amuſing adventures, Dec. 18, 1793, and in January following they embarked at Macao for England.

The information which the ſecretary to the embaſſy, in a narrative of this romantic expedition publiſhed by authority, has given us of the ſtate of the Chineſe empire is extremely curious and intereſting. A few particulars will not probably be deemed too wide a digreſſion from the more proper ſubjects of the preſent hiſtory. It is remarked by the intelligent author, ſir George Stanton, that regions out of Aſia are ſcarcely referred to in the books of the Chineſe, or noticed in their maps. The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, viſited the court of Pekin in the thirteenth century. He makes no mention of the Chineſe wall, but it appears that he entered China on the ſide of Thibet, paſſing through the provinces Shenſee and Shanſee. The preſent Tartar dynaſty had continued, in 1793, during a courſe of four reigns, 149 years. Every ſquare mile in China

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China contains, upon an average, upwards of 300 inhabitants, in all 335 millions, in the fifteen provinces of China Proper, and exclusive of the Tartarian and Thibet territories beyond the great wall.—There are nine orders of mandarins; but the office is not hereditary, and the only public or personal distinction is that of being employed in the public service; and knowledge and virtue alone qualify for public employments.—When the mandarins, accompanying the embassy, were told that in England a child might claim, in virtue of his birth, the highest offices and dignities of the state, they could not sufficiently express their astonishment, and intimated that this was a matter unfit to be repeated to the emperor. From the entrance of the embassy into China not one person in the guise of a beggar had been seen, or any one observed to solicit charity. In the intervals of military service the soldiers assume the common habit of the people, and are occupied in manufactures or the cultivation of land.—The government of China does not interfere with mere opinions. There is in China no state religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The emperor is of one faith, many of the mandarins of another, and the majority of the common people of a third, which is that of Fo. The possessions of the father are equally divided amongst all the sons; and the antient public law of the empire is founded on the broadest basis of universal justice. The examinations in the public seminaries or schools of students for degrees are always public. Oral questions are put, and others in writing, to the candidates. The honors conferred upon those who succeed become the ascending steps which lead to all the offices and dignities of the state. A method of advancement so open to all classes of men tends to reconcile them to the power, from attaining which no individual is precluded. In these trials wealth must yield to talents and genius. The number of manufacturers bears but a very small proportion to that of husbandmen in China. Few parks or pleasure-grounds are to be seen. There

There are no commons or lands ſuffered to lie waſte by the neglect or caprice or for the ſport of great proprietors. Every large or ornamental building was found upon enquiry to be deſtined for ſome public uſe, or for the habitation of a man in office.—In ſeaſons of calamity the emperor of China always comes forward: He orders the granaries to be opened: He remits the cuſtomary taxes to thoſe who are viſited by misfortune: He affords aſſiſtance to enable them to retrieve their affairs: He appears to his ſubjects as almoſt ſtanding in the place of a tutelary divinity. In all public labors there appeared a promptitude and cheerfulneſs of obedience, which argued a confidential expectation of an adequate recompence. The execution of criminals, convicted of capital offences, takes place in one day with circumſtances of peculiar ſolemnity; the uſages of the empire, requiring the emperor formally to conſult the mandarins of his council upon each caſe ſeparately, in order to know whether he can with ſafety to the ſtate avert the ſentence.

Such are the cuſtoms, obſervances, and inſtitutions of a ſtupendous empire, far exceeding in riches and population all the kingdoms of Europe; and which has been, from the earlieſt periods of hiſtory, celebrated for the profound wiſdom of its government, and for that which is the neceſſary conſequence of this wiſdom—the unexampled proſperity of the people!

The Britiſh ſettlements in India enjoyed at this period a profound repoſe under the wiſe and equitable government of ſir John Shore, ſucceſſor to earl Cornwallis. The moſt remarkable occurrence of the preſent year in Bengal was the death (April 27, 1794) of ſir William Jones, who had been appointed, March 1783, a judge of the ſupreme Court of Judicature in India on the recall of ſir Elijah Impey; as if it were determined by this choice to reſcue the Engliſh name and character from reproach, and to manifeſt, by way of contraſt, how high public and private virtue could aſcend. Sir William Jones had long been celebrated, as the wonder

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of the preſent age, for the profundity and univerſality of his attainments. As a linguiſt he was equally familiar with the modern and the antient, the occidental and the oriental, languages. As a writer and profeſſor of juriſprudence he was not merely verſed in the laws and uſages of his native country, but deeply ſkilled in the Roman and Grecian, the Hindoo and Mahometan ſyſtems. He was at once a mathematician, a poet, and an hiſtorian. He excelled in muſical, in chymical, and in botanical purſuits; and his attainments in every one of theſe different objects of reſearch were ſuch as might juſtify the ſuppoſition that he had made the ſtudy of it the great object of his life. Yet was that life circumſcribed by the comparatively-ſhort term of forty-ſeven years. To his great and unrivalled intellectual accompliſhments he added the higheſt moral excellence; and no greater or juſter eulogium could be pronounced upon him, than that his virtues were equal to his talents. Europe and Aſia acknowledged his worth, and mourned his loſs. "Of the ability and conſcious integrity with which he exerciſed the functions of a magiſtrate in India (lord Teignmouth, late ſir John Shore, aſſures us the public voice and public regret bore ample and merited teſtimony. The ſame penetration which marked his ſcientific reſearches diſtinguiſhed his legal inveſtigations and deciſions, and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing."* While yet on his voyage to India, he formed the plan of an inſtitution for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the hiſtory and antiquities, arts, ſcience, and literature, of India. 'It gave me,' to uſe his own words in the preliminary diſcourſe addreſſed to the members of the aſſociation, 'one evening, on inſpecting the map, inexpreſſible pleaſure to find myſelf in a noble amphitheatre, almoſt encircled by the vaſt regions of Aſia, the nurſe of ſciences, the inventreſs of delightful and uſeful arts, the ſcene of glorious actions, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diverſified in the forms of religion and government.

* Addreſs to the Society for Aſiatic Reſearches.

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vernment. I could not help remarking how important and extenſive a field was yet unexplored, and how many ſolid advantages unimproved.'—" Let us lament," ſays lord Teignmouth, " that the ſpirit which dictated thoſe learned and intereſting diſſertations, which form ſo large and valuable a portion of the records of our reſearches, is extinct, and that the voice to which we liſtened with improvement and rapture will be heard by us no more."

In order to complete the political portrait of the preſent period, it is neceſſary to advert to the ſtate of affairs in the continental kingdoms not actually engaged in the confederacy againſt France.

The celebrated diet of Grodno, by which the ſecond partition of Poland was indignantly ratified, terminated in extreme confuſion after the coercive abolition of the conſtitution of 1791, and the re-eſtabliſhment of that which preceded in 1772. At the beginning of the year 1794, baron d'Ingelſtrohm, who had ſucceeded the count de Sievres as ambaſſador at Warſaw, demanded the eraſement of every record and the ſurrender of every paper relative to the late conſtitution, which was paſſively ſubmitted to. This act of humiliation only increaſed the inſolence of the conquerors, whoſe oppreſſion and outrages grew daily more inſufferable. The court of Ruſſia at length iſſued its mandate for the reduction of the military force of Poland to 16,000 men. This was poſitively refuſed by ſeveral of the veteran regiments, particularly in that part of the kingdom bordering upon the metropolis, where general Madalinſki appeared at the head of a great body of inſurgents, who had reſolved not to lay down their arms. The Ruſſian ambaſſador was inſtructed to deliver to the permanent executive council an official document, requeſting, or rather commanding, the Poliſh government to diſpatch an army to oppoſe Madalinſki, and likewiſe to take into cuſtody every ſuſpected perſon. The firſt of theſe demands was evaded; and to the latter it was replied, that no Poliſh nobleman could be arreſted

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before-conviction. Early in the month of February (1794) appeared in the field the celebrated Koſciuſko, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in America and his patriotiſm in Poland. After obtaining ſeveral advantages over the Pruſſians in their newly-acquired territories, he advanced towards Cracow, which was abandoned to him by the Ruſſians in garriſon there on the 24th of March. He then aſſembled the nobility and principal inhabitants at the Town-Hall, and was formally inveſted with the title of General amid loud acclamations; after which he iſſued a proclamation inviting the nation, in the moſt energetic terms, to ſhake off their fetters, and to unite in forming a new confederation; and a ſolemn oath was taken by all preſent to maintain the conſtitution of 1791. In the mean time Warſaw was in a ſtate of high fermentation. The king, broken down by age, affliction, and infirmity, and wholly incapable of thoſe exertions which correſponded with his ſituation and character, had the weakneſs to iſſue a proclamation exhorting his ſubjects to lay down their arms, inſtead of putting himſelf at their head; and rendered himſelf both odious and contemptible by accepting of a Ruſſian guard for the protection of his perſon.

In the beginning of April general Koſciuſko began his march from Cracow to Warſaw, with an army compoſed of ſuch regular troops as he could collect, and reinforced by ſome thouſand peaſants armed with pikes. On the road he fell in with a ſtrong corps of Ruſſians, detached by baron d'Ingelſtrohm from Warſaw, to regain poſſeſſion of Cracow. A fierce encounter enſued, and the Ruſſians were in the end totally routed with great ſlaughter—the Poliſh peaſantry, in their fury, giving no quarter to the enemy. The inhabitants of Warſaw now aroſe, and drove out the Ruſſian garriſon after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Koſciuſko took immediate poſſeſſion of the capital; in conſequence of which the king, yielding paſſively to the courſe of events,

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and without being animated by a ſingle ſpark of heroiſm or patriotiſm, declared himſelf head of the confederation. Addreſſes of congratulation were now preſented from all quarters, and every-where appeared ſymptoms of martial ardor—near 70,000 men, excluſive of peaſantry, being, as was calculated, in arms before the end of May. But this force was diſperſed in different bodies throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania; and the vaſt armies of the powers allied for their deſtruction were advancing upon them with rapid ſteps on either ſide. In this emergency no chance of ultimate ſucceſs could poſſibly remain but in the adoption of the daring and deciſive meaſure of ſummoning a national convention, and of eſtabliſhing a new conſtitution founded upon the broadeſt baſis of democracy,—a conſtitution in the preſervation of which every individual would have felt himſelf deeply and permanently intereſted—a conſtitution which, as in France, would have excited the genuine ſpirit of republican enthuſiaſm, which would have converted Poland, like France, into an armed nation, and have infuſed into the breaſts of all the heroic the determined reſolution to conquer or to die. But to a grand and glorious effort like this the genius and talents of Koſciuſko did not appear equal: on the contrary, a proclamation was publiſhed, ſtating, "That as the Poliſh inſurrection took place upon principles eſſentially different from thoſe prevailing in France, it ſhould be differently conducted; and that the king," whoſe timidity and duplicity had rendered him juſtly deſpicable in the eyes of all, "ſhould be treated with the deference and regard due to his rank." It is difficult to conceive whoſe favour Koſciuſko could hope to conciliate by this tame and diſguſting declaration. Had America, France, and it may be added England, heſitated in ſimilar circumſtances to proceed to the depoſition of their reſpective ſovereigns, the revolutions effected in theſe ſeveral countries would have borne for ever the appellation of treaſon and rebellion. The original principles

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principles of the French revolution were no other than the genuine and immutable principles of liberty; and although theſe principles were doubtleſs more liable to abuſe under a democratic than a mixed form of government, it was by the eſtabliſhment of a pure democracy only that, in Poland, the maſs of the people, ſtupified by oppreſſion, could be awakened to a juſt ſenſe of their inherent rights, or inſpired with the invincible reſolution eſſential to the defence of them. From the publication of the proclamation in queſtion, perſons of diſcernment augured the ſpeedy and melancholy termination of this unequal conteſt.

A Pruſſian army, under general Elſner, marched to the attack of Cracow, which ſurrendered at diſcretion on the 15th of June. Nearly at the ſame time his Pruſſian majeſty advanced towards the city of Warſaw, defended by Koſciuſko in perſon with ſuch ſkill and courage that the Pruſſians were compelled, after a blockade and ſiege of two months, to retreat with loſs and diſgrace to the frontiers of Sileſia. The Ruſſians, in the mean time, were gradually making progreſs on the ſide of Lithuania; and on the 18th of September, in a general engagement near Brzeſc, defeated the inſurgents, whom they obliged to retreat acroſs the Bug. The invaders, now under the command of general Suwarrow, the bloody and barbarous conqueror of Iſmail, marched forwards in full confidence of victory to Warſaw, deſigning in their way to form a junction with the detached corps of general Ferſen. With a view to prevent this junction, Koſciuſko, at the head of his brave Poles, on the 10th of October attacked Ferſen with undaunted intrepidity. The courage diſplayed by the Ruſſians was not inferior, and they had the advantages of ſuperior numbers and diſcipline. After a conflict of five hours the Poles were totally overpowered; and Koſciuſko himſelf, having received a dangerous wound, was obliged to ſurrender. The fate of Poland was inſtantly decided. The generals Ferſen and Suwarrow, after effecting their propoſed

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poſed junction, proceeded to Warſaw, defended by Madalinſki and other brave officers—a formidable line of batteries being oppoſed to the enemy. But the ferocious Suwarrow was not to be intimidated by any obſtacles, and he immediately ordered his ſoldiers to mount to the aſſault in the ſame manner as at Iſmail, uſing only the ſabre and bayonet. After a ſevere conteſt of eight hours all reſiſtance on the part of the Poles ceaſed, and the carnage was converted into a maſſacre. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance in the conduct of this horrid buſineſs is, that nearly ten hours after the Ruſſians, apparently ſatiated with blood and ſlaughter, had reſted upon their arms, the carnage and pillage of this devoted city commenced anew. The beautiful ſuburb of Praga was ſet on fire, and vaſt numbers not only of men, but of women and children, periſhed in the flames or by the ſword. One of the chiefs of the inſurrection remaining, count Potocki, was now deputed to general Suwarrow, to implore the mercy of that mercileſs barbarian, who received his application with extreme haughtineſs, obſerving that a treaty was unneceſſary, that the empreſs was not at war with the republic, and that his commiſſion was merely to reduce the rebellious ſubjects of Poland to obedience. He however deigned at length to grant to the prayer of Potocki the lives and properties of the wretched remainder of the inhabitants. But even in this extreme exigency ſome high-minded patriots refuſed to take any part in this capitulation; amongſt the reſt general Wawrzecki, governor of the city, whom Suwarrow nevertheleſs received with unexpected marks of civility, ordering his ſword to be returned to him; but the haughty Pole refuſed to accept the proffered boon, ſaying, "That his ſword was become uſeleſs, ſince he had no longer a country to defend."

On the 9th of November, the Ruſſian commander made his triumphal entry into Warſaw, traverſing that dreadful ſcene of deſolation and deſtruction in profound and terrific ſilence. Having made a ſolitude, he called it peace. That the

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the impiety of this tranſaction might keep pace with the barbarity of it, a ſolemn *Te Deum* was celebrated on the 1ſt of December, for the ſucceſs of the imperial arms of Ruſſia, and the offerings of guilt were preſented on altars polluted by profaneneſs, and red with human gore. The Poliſh chiefs, Koſciuſko, Potocki, &c. were ſent, under a ſtrong military eſcort, to Peterſburgh, and thrown into dungeons; and the unhappy monarch himſelf was ordered to repair firſt to Grodno, and then to Peterſburgh, where, in a ſhort time, he died, without exciting, after the high hopes on very ſlender grounds conceived of him in the commencement of his reign, the ſlighteſt either of eſteem or regret.* A third and final partition of the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, after a ſhort interval, took place, conformably to a new convention between the crowns of Ruſſia and Pruſſia, to which Auſtria acceded; and the very name of Poland was from this time blotted out from the map of Europe. Such were the exploits performed on the eaſtern ſide of Chriſtendom by the high and very dear allies of England, jointly engaged with her in a confederacy which had for its profeſſed object the reſtoration of religion, of ſocial order, and regular government—exploits which infinitely exceeded in atrocity and barbarity any crimes which, ſurrounded as ſhe was with enemies, and irritated by every ſpecies of provocation, had been in the very criſis of her revolution perpetrated by the atheiſts and anarchiſts of France.

The crowns of Sweden and Denmark ſtill perſevered in their wiſe determination of obſerving a perfect impartiality during the preſent war; and in the courſe of this year, (March 27, 1794,) a convention was concluded between them, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of commerce in the Baltic on the principles of the armed neutrality

* Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, late king of Poland and grand-duke of Lithuania, died at Peterſburgh, February 12, 1798.

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neutrality of 1780, by equipping jointly a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of the line, in equal proportions, for that ſervice; and by the tenth article the Baltic is declared to be a neutral ſea, abſolutely and altogether inacceſſible to the armed ſhips of the different and diſtant powers at war.

The prudence and circumſpection of the American government could not prevent thoſe diſtant ſtates from being involved in the troubles which ſo violently agitated the European kingdoms. General Waſhington, preſident of the Union, in his ſpeech to both houſes of congreſs, December 3, 1793, urged upon them the neceſſity of placing the country in a condition of complete ſelf-defence. "The United States," ſaid this truly great man, "ought not to indulge a perſuaſion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a diſtance thoſe painful appeals to arms with which the hiſtory of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not abſolutely loſt, by the reputation of weakneſs. If we deſire to avoid inſult we muſt be able to repel it. If we deſire to ſecure peace, one of the moſt powerful inſtruments of our riſing proſperity, it muſt be known that we are at all times ready for war."

Theſe expreſſions, though they bore relation alſo to England and Spain, were underſtood to be chiefly pointed againſt the government of France, whoſe ambaſſador, citizen Genet, a hot-headed zealot of Jacobiniſm, and one Duplaine, received in the capacity of vice-conſul of France, had conducted themſelves with extreme diſreſpect and indecorum to the executive power; inſomuch, that the preſident had thought it neceſſary to publiſh letters-patent, declaring, that he no longer recogniſed Duplaine as ſuſtaining any official character. Upon which Genet wrote in a moſt inſolent ſtyle to Mr. Jefferſon, ſecretary of ſtate, proteſting againſt the validity of this diſmiſſion, and alleging

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leging that the conſtitution of the United States has not given the preſident the right which he aſſumed. "If," ſaid this great diplomatic luminary, "it is an act merely arbitrary, it is amongſt the claſs of acts of aggreſſion, and becomes a cauſe of war. I do not recollect what the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, or Vattel, ſay on the ſubject; I thank God I have forgotten what theſe hired juriſprudiſts have written upon the rights of nations at a period when all were enchained."

On the 5th of December the preſident ſent a meſſage to the two houſes, containing a formal complaint of the behaviour of the French miniſter, but at the ſame time acknowledging, in very explicit terms, the friendly attachment manifeſted by the French republic in the general tenor of its conduct towards America—"that they had given advantages to the commerce and navigation of the United States, and made overtures for placing thoſe advantages on permanent ground; and he expreſſed his firm conviction that the government of France will not ſuffer them to remain long expoſed to the inſults of a perſon who has ſo little reſpected the mutual diſpoſitions of the two nations." He takes notice, however, of the ſeizures of American veſſels with enemy's goods on board, both by the French and Engliſh, in violation of what he apprehended to be the true principles of neutrality, and that repreſentations had been made to the belligerent powers to obtain redreſs for the paſt, and more effectual proviſions againſt the future. Alſo, that on the ſubjects of mutual intereſt between America and Spain, negotiations and conferences were at that time depending.

The outrages nevertheleſs committed by the Britiſh armed veſſels and cruizers on the American traders, in conſequence of the famous order of council dated November, 1793, were ſo enormous, the encroachments made by the governments of Canada upon the American territory were ſo flagrant, and the indiſpoſition of the court of London to

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deliver up the forts upon the great lakes, conformably to the treaty of 1783, was ſo openly manifeſted, that the preſident, in a meſſage to congreſs, dated April 16, 1794, declared to the American legiſlature, that the aſpect of their affairs with Great Britain was very ſerious; and he at the ſame time communicated to them the appointment of Mr. Jay, who held the high office of chief juſtice of the United States, as envoy extraordinary to his Britannic majeſty. "A miſſion like this," ſaid the preſident, "while it correſponds with the ſolemnity of the occaſion, will announce to the world a ſolicitude for a friendly adjuſtment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hoſtility."

Several circumſtances at this period concurred to excite the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions in the minds of the Americans of the evil deſigns of the Britiſh court, which, with impotent malignity, reſented the good underſtanding uniformly kept up by the republic of America with the republic of France, notwithſtanding the occaſional abuſes and exceſſes of the French government. In a TALK or conference held by lord Dorcheſter, late ſir Guy Carleton, with the Indian chiefs of Lower Canada in February, 1794, the governor declared, that he ſhould not be ſurpriſed if the king their father were to be at war with the people of the United States before the end of the year—"You are witneſs, children," ſaid he to the chieftains, "that on our part we have acted in the moſt peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience; and, I believe, our patience is almoſt exhauſted."—An inſurrection having broken out in the weſtern territory in conſequence of the recent introduction of the exciſe laws among that rude people, the inſurgents threatened, that if the tax in queſtion was not repealed, they would place themſelves under the protection of Great Britain. In the courſe of the ſummer they were, however, reduced to ſubmiſſion. With a view, as it appeared, to co-operate with theſe inſurgents, the Indian nations to the northward made a deſperate incurſion

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curſion into the weſtern territory. General Wayne, being ſent with an armed force to repel this attack about the middle of Auguſt, penetrated to the Miami river, on the banks of which, to his utter ſurpriſe, he diſcovered a fort erected and garriſoned by the Britiſh ſettlers of Detroit and Canadian militia; and under the cannon of this fort the Indians routed and purſued by Wayne ſought and found refuge. Major Campbell, governor of the fort, wrote to general Wayne to know the cauſe of his hoſtile approach to a garriſon appertaining to his Britannic majeſty. The American general in reply, aſſerted, "that he knew of no act of hoſtility excepting that committed by the major in erecting a fortification within the acknowledged boundary of the United States, which he ſummoned him forthwith to ſurrender, and withdraw within the limits of the Britiſh territory. Major Campbell. with laudable diſcretion, informed general Wayne, "that being a military officer merely he had no authority to enter into any diſcuſſion of right, but that he was confident the difference would be amicably adjuſted between their ſeveral governments;" and on this aſſurance general Wayne, with equal moderation, drew off his troops.

In the ſouthern colonies alſo the American government had ſtrong ground to ſuſpect that the Creek and Seneca Indians had been tampered with by the Britiſh agents, to engage in a war againſt the Americans; but all theſe cauſes of difference were referred to the well-known addreſs and management of Mr. Jay.

Nearly at the ſame time the preſident nominated, as miniſter-plenipotentiary to the French government, Mr. James Monroe, a man of a cool and diſpaſſionate temper, of excellent parts, and a ſincere friend to the cauſe of Gallic as well as of American liberty. He arrived at Paris immediately after the fall of the Robeſpierrian faction, and at his firſt audience (Auguſt 15, 1794) he was received with the moſt cordial tokens of eſteem and affection. "The French

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French people," ſaid the preſident of the Convention, in his anſwer to the ſpeech of Mr. Monroé, "have not forgotten, that it is to the Americans they owe the beginning of liberty. It was by admiring the ſublime inſurrection of the American people againſt Albion, once ſo proud, now ſo degraded,—it was by taking arms themſelves to ſecond the courageous efforts of that inſurrection,—it was by cementing the independence of America with the blood of their braveſt warriors, that the French people learned to break the ſceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the ſtatue of Liberty on the ruins of a throne founded on fourteen centuries of corruption and crimes."

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BOOK XV.

Wonderful Acquiſitions of France during the War. Seſſion of Parliament, 1795. King's Speech holds out bold and fallacious Hopes of Succeſs. Defection of Mr. Wilberforce, and other Partizans of the Miniſtry, from the Syſtem of the Court. Cauſes of the National Deluſion. Suſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act renewed. Loan granted to the Emperor. Statement of the National Finances. Motion of Mr. Grey reſpecting Peace—Inſidiouſly counteracted by Mr. Pitt. Similar Motion of the Duke of Bedford---Rejected by the Peers. Reſolutions moved by Mr. Grey and the Duke of Bedford alſo negatived. Motion by Mr. Fox to inquire into the State of the Nation evaded. Motions reſpecting the Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland negatived. Pacific Motion by Mr. Wilberforce negatived. Marriage Eſtabliſhment of the Prince of Wales. Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade rejected. Acquittal of Mr. Haſtings. Termination of the Seſſion. Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament---Appointment of Earl Camden to the Government — Catholic-Emancipation Bill rejected---Diſtracted State of the Country. Military Tranſactions. Shattered Remains of the Duke of York's Army embarked for England. Peace between France and Pruſſia---Alſo between France and Spain. Surrender of Luxemburg. Indeciſive Operations on the Rhine. Naval Engagement off the Coaſt of Corſica. Skilful Retreat of Admiral Cornwallis. French Squadron defeated by Lord Bridport. The Iſlands of St. Euſtatius and St. Lucia recovered by the French. War againſt the Maroons in Jamaica. Cape of Good Hope captured by the Engliſh. State of Affairs in France. Revengeful Proceedings of the Gironde Faction. Diſaſtrous Expedition to La Vendée. Death of the Dauphin. New Conſtitution

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Conſtitution of France. Diſſolution of the Convention. Treaty of Commerce ſigned between Great Britain and America. Defenſive Treaty between Great Britain and Ruſſia. Seſſion of Parliament held in Corſica. Petitions from the Cities of London, York, Norwich, &c. againſt the War. Diſturbances in the City of Weſtminſter. Pop-Gun Plot revived. Popular Meetings attended by vaſt Multitudes at Chalk-Farm, &c.

AT the concluſion of the year 1794, the French, after repelling with heroic courage the early attack of the allied powers upon their northern frontier, found themſelves in the poſſeſſion of the whole of Flanders and Brabant. The Auſtrians were driven by them, with dreadful ſlaughter, acroſs the Meuſe, and the Engliſh and Dutch beyond the Waal; and they only waited for the ſetting-in of the froſt, to paſs the great rivers into the territory of the United Provinces. On the ſide of Germany they had conquered the three eccleſiaſtical electorates of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; the principality of Liege; the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Deux-Ponts; the biſhoprics of Spires and Worms; the far greater part of the dominions of the elector-palatine; and, in general, all the Hither Germany bounded by the Rhine. On the ſide of Italy they occupied the duchy of Savoy and a great part of Piedmont, the city and county of Nice, and the principality of Monaco. On that of Spain, the greater part of the frontier provinces of Biſcay and Catalonia, with their ports, cities, magazines, arſenals, and founderies. The Spaniſh armies had been defeated in many bloody ſucceſſive conteſts; no military force could now be collected in any degree competent to encounter the republican troops in the field; and the Catholic king, trembling upon his throne, ſeemed already to anticipate the horrors of an approaching revolution. The territories ſubdued by the arms of the republic were computed

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computed to contain thirteen millions of inhabitants: and in twenty-ſeven pitched battles, beſides an innumerable multitude of inferior actions, they had ſlain 80,000 of their enemies, and taken more than 90,000 priſoners; alſo immenſe quantities of ammunition and ſtores, with 3,800 pieces of cannon.

On the 30th of December, 1794, the parliament of Great Britain was convened, when the monarch, whoſe natural beneficence of diſpoſition and undeviating rectitude of intention were rendered wholly unavailing by the evil counſels of men, untaught by experience, and now grown obſtinate in error, heſitated not to inform the two houſes, "that, notwithſtanding the diſappointments and reverſes which the allied armies had experienced in the courſe of the laſt campaign, he retained a firm conviction of the neceſſity of perſiſting in a vigorous proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which the nation was engaged."—By way of encouragement to his faithful parliament, nevertheleſs, his majeſty was pleaſed to remark, "that, in conſidering the ſituation of their enemies, they would not fail to obſerve that the efforts which had led to their ſucceſſes, and the unexampled means by which alone thoſe efforts could have been ſupported, have produced among themſelves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which had paſſed in the interior of the country had ſhown the progreſſive and rapid decay of their reſources, and the inſtability of every part of that violent and unnatural ſyſtem, which is equally ruinous to France and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations."—His majeſty farther declared, "that he ſhould omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with ſuch of the powers of Europe as were impreſſed with the ſame ſenſe of the neceſſity of vigor and exertion. He mentioned his acceptance of the crown and ſovereignty of Corſica; he announced to them the happy event of the marriage of his ſon, the prince of Wales, with the princeſs Caroline,

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Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunſwic; and he concluded with expreſſing his *confident* hope, that, under the *protection of* PROVIDENCE, and with conſtancy and perſeverance on our part, the principles of *ſocial order*, of *morality* and *religion*, would ultimately be ſucceſsful; and that his *faithful people* would be rewarded for their preſent exertions and ſacrifices by the *deliverance of Europe* from the greateſt danger with which it had been threatened ſince the eſtabliſhment of civilized ſociety."

Addreſſes being brought forward, in the uſual ſtyle of complaiſance, an amendment was propoſed in the houſe of peers by the earl of Guildford, who, at the cloſe of a ſpeech of excellent ſenſe and ſound reaſoning, moved "that his majeſty be requeſted and adviſed by that houſe to take the earlieſt means of ſecuring a peace, and that no obſtacle might ariſe from the nature of the French government. Holland," his lordſhip affirmed, "could only be ſaved by a peace: and he urged the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the preſent object of the war, the dictating of a government to France. In military operations, and in political negotiations, the miniſtry had equally failed; and, as he had never been ſatisfied of the wiſdom of entering into the war, he could not now admit the neceſſity of perſevering in it."—The marquis of Lanſdown declared, "that he could ſee no difficulty in treating with France at the preſent period, and adverted with contempt to the old and hacknied objection that there was no power exiſting there to treat with. When perſons wanted to make up a quarrel, when there was a ſincere deſire for reconciliation on both ſides, the means of effecting it would always be found. France, amidſt all its change of parties, had not falſified its engagements, ſince the revolution, with any foreign ſtate." The amendment was, after a ſpirited debate, rejected by a majority of 107 to 12 voices only.

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The debate on the ſame ſubject, in the houſe of commons, excited ſtill more of the public attention. No ſooner was the addreſs read, than Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate friend of the miniſter, and who had hitherto warmly ſupported him in all his meaſures, roſe and objected to it, as pledging the houſe to proſecute the war till there was a counter-revolution in France. He obſerved, "that there was nothing in his majeſty's ſpeech in the leaſt pacificatory; although the Jacobine ſyſtem, ſo hoſtile to this country, was deſtroyed, and there appeared an aſſumption at leaſt of moderation on the part of the new rulers of that country. The confederacy againſt France alſo was now diſſolved, and her internal diſorders appeaſed. How then could we conquer a people who had reſiſted with ſuch ſucceſs, when aſſailed by the combined force of Europe from without, and when diſtracted with inſurrections from within? The retroſpect of our affairs was bad, but the proſpect before us was ſtill worſe. Like the waves of the ocean, the armies of France ſeem rapidly overthrowing every thing that ſtands in their way. Regardleſs of ſlighter differences, they look merely to the Convention, and thought themſelves bound to adhere to what they perceived would alone keep the country together. This circumſtance it was which had firſt ſtaggered his opinion with relation to the probability of ultimate ſucceſs in this conteſt. He was well aware of the impoſſibility of forcing a government upon France, when France was united in opinion and in act; and he ſcrupled not to add, that, though a friend to monarchy, he did not think that a monarchy would be the fitteſt form of government for France, in preſent circumſtances, as the current of prejudice ſet ſo ſtrongly againſt it.—Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, he did not think the country would be at all debaſed by a declaration for peace. True magnanimity conſiſted in acting with propriety under every circumſtance, reſolutely determining to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required by an alteration in the

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ſtate of affairs. Thoſe who thought it ſo eaſy to effect a counter-revolution in France ſhould recollect that revolutionary principles had now been ſix years prevalent in that country, and that a new generation was riſing up who had been educated in and familiarized to them. Equitable propoſals for a negotiation would at all events be beneficial to this kingdom. If rejected, every perſon would unite with government in carrying on with vigor what would then be a juſt and neceſſary war." Mr. Wilberforce concluded a ſpeech, candid from its acknowledgment of error, and impreſſive becauſe it applied itſelf to the common ſenſe and common feelings of his auditors, with moving an amendment to the addreſs ſimilar in purport to that of the earl of Guildford. In theſe ſentiments he was ſupported very ſtrongly by ſeveral moſt reſpectable independent members of the houſe, who had hitherto voted with adminiſtration. Mr. Bankes ſaid, "the expectation of overturning the French republic was, in his opinion, abſurd; and if we were not to treat with France till the overthrow of that kind of government, the war might continue for ever."—Sir Richard Hill ſtrongly recommended peace; or, if that were unattainable, at leaſt the withdrawment of our troops from the continent. The object of the continental war had been ſtated in one word—SECURITY. If it were aſked what had we gained by that war, ſhort as had been the period of its duration, it might be anſwered in one word—RUIN."

Mr. Pitt aroſe in viſible emotion to vindicate the language and ſentiments contained in the addreſs; and, in the courſe of a florid and plauſible ſpeech, put in practice all his inſidious arts to make the worſe appear the better reaſon, and thus, at the critical moment of reſolve, to perplex and daſh matureſt counſels. "His majeſty's ſpeech," Mr. Pitt affirmed, "did not pledge the houſe never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of *a ſecure peace* till

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the return of the monarchy,* which he thought the beſt form of government for all the nations of Europe. The change which had taken place in France was a change not in ſubſtance, but merely in name. Peace, could it be attained, would not place us in a ſituation of confidence. We muſt on the contrary increaſe our precautions. Hoſtilities would begin again in a ſhort time, and as ſoon as France ſaw our military force diminiſhed; and we ſhould be again oppoſed to an enemy who might have found it as difficult to diſband his armies as we ſhould to obtain freſh forces. Even if diſpoſed to peace, their rulers would be compelled by fear to give them new employment. If we diſſolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to ſee it reſtored; we ſhould then be expoſed alone to the fury of France. Ought we to leave the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS in poſſeſſion of the French? The ſafety of the Dutch depended upon our continuance of the war."

Mr. Pitt traverſed once more the old road of argument, declamation, and invective, with his accuſtomed power of language; but fearing, no doubt, that the efficacy of this political *charlataniſme* might be impaired by too frequent uſe, he took at the cloſe of his ſpeech, in a great meaſure, new ground; and ventured roundly to aſſert, that, notwithſtanding the extenſive conqueſts of France, ſhe had ſuffered more in permanent value and preſent means than the loſſes of all the allies united together. The reſources of the French, the means of their immenſe pecuniary expenditure, were requiſition and arreſt of property. Such a ſyſtem could only be produced by deſpotiſm, and ſupported

* From the æra of the Revolution of 1688, in England, to the year 1783, being a period of 95 years, the two nations of Great Britain and France had been in a ſtate of war no leſs than 40 of them. What therefore, it may be permitted to aſk, according to Mr. Pitt's rules of political calculation, conſtituted that ſuperior ſecurity for the continuance of peace under a monarchy rather than a republic?

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ported by terror. The expenditure of the French had, he ſaid, ſince the revolution, amounted to 320 millions. Was it then likely ſhe ſhould ſee this country firſt exhauſted? This expenditure they had been enabled to bear only by the creation of unlimited paper credit. But all the debates of the Convention proved that they could not increaſe the emiſſion of this paper without ruin. Mr. Pitt recapitulated the proceedings of the French, reſpecting finance, to ſhew that they could not maintain their aſſignats without contracting their expenſes and diminiſhing their forces. To preſs them now with vigor would compel them to iſſue more aſſignats, and thus rapidly exhauſt their means and accelerate their ruin, which Mr. Pitt predicted to be imminent and inevitable;—and, in fact, they were already, as he affirmed, not only on the verge, but in the GULF OF BANKRUPTCY. The houſe divided at four o'clock in the morning, for the amendment 75, againſt it 246.

Great as the influence of the crown may be ſuppoſed in the houſe of commons, it is impoſſible to attribute the vaſt majorities of the preſent miniſter, particularly ſince the commencement of the war with France, to the operation of that influence merely. Eloquence, that fatal talent when miſapplied, will of itſelf produce mighty effects; and it muſt be remarked, that the eloquence of Mr. Pitt has ever been exerted in uniſon with the rooted prejudices of the houſe and of the nation, and in no one inſtance has it ever been employed to counteract a popular error. Hatred to France is a political chord, which vibrates to every touch; and when that maſter-paſſion is, by the force of imagination, connected with a reverence to religion, reſpect to morals, to ſocial order, to regular government, and, in a word, to all the ties which unite the different claſſes of men in the bonds of civilization and humanity, it muſt require comparatively ſmall ſkill to guide and direct the effects of it. The generous ſolicitude which tranſiently ſhewed itſelf for the ſucceſs of the French nation, in their efforts

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efforts to eſtabliſh a free conſtitution, was ſuddenly and totally abſorbed in the horror excited by their ſubſequent enormities, without ſufficiently conſidering the provocations which gave riſe to them, or, what was of ſtill greater moment, that a whole nation ought not to be execrated for the offences of comparatively a few individuals. What are uſually ſtyled the crimes of France are, in deed and in truth, for the moſt part, only her misfortunes and calamities; and they are no doubt as much the ſubject of abhorrence and deteſtation with the great maſs of the people in that country as in this. Is it poſſible to prefer anarchy to tranquillity, oppreſſion to protection, or malevolence to benignity? So long as the paſſions of that high-ſpirited nation are inflamed and exaſperated by oppoſition, ſo long will they be more or leſs chargeable with exceſſes moral and political—ſo long will they remain ſtrangers to the countleſs and invaluable bleſſings of liberty: for genuine liberty can in no clime, age, or country, ever be ſeparated from the control of law,—liberty itſelf being the law of reaſon, of juſtice, and of humanity. And, "Oh LAW!" underſtood in this its beſt and higheſt ſenſe, to uſe the ſublime language of a juſtly-admired writer, "no leſs can be ſaid than that her ſeat is the boſom of GOD, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage,—the very leaſt as feeling her care, the greateſt as not exempted from her power. Both angels and men, and creatures of what condition ſoever, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all, with uniform conſent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."*

That the general intentions of the Britiſh nation, or even of the Britiſh legiſlature, have been upon the whole otherwiſe than juſt, is a ſuppoſition improbable and injurious. But

* HOOKER's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, book I. concluſion.

But when the power of eloquence, combined with the ſeductions of intereſt and the ſuggeſtions of prejudice, is calmly conſidered, it cannot be a ſubject of wonder that few minds are found of firmneſs ſufficient to withſtand the force of the aſſociation. As to the grand conſideration on which Mr. Pitt now profeſſed to reſt his hopes of reſtoring monarchy in France, which was in this debate, for the firſt time, avowed to be, if not an abſolute *ſine-qua-non* of peace, one grand object of the war, it was evident that the miniſter, *if ſincere*, had been groſsly duped and deceived by the fallacious reaſonings of certain French emigrants, ignonorant or intereſted, who had publiſhed various tracts upon the ſubject of the French finances;—ſuch as one D'Ivernois, created Sir Francis D'Ivernios, a dealer wholeſale and retail in ridiculous paradoxes; and M. Mallet du Pan, an ingenious but enthuſiaſtic writer;—neglecting the ſalutary but unpleaſant warnings and admonitions of the celebrated M. de Calonne, formerly comptroller-general of the finances in France, who, in a moſt moſt able pamphlet, entitled The Political State of Europe, publiſhed at this time, expreſsly ſays—"I do repeat, and continually ſhall repeat, that whatever cauſes would reduce a regularly-governed ſtate to the laſt period of its military exertions would by no means produce the ſame effects on a revolutionary government, poſſeſſing all the exiſting means and reſources of the country. To reduce *them* to the laſt extremity, there muſt be no land, no productions, no labourers, no ſoldiers; in ſhort, no reſources of any kind in the whole extent of the territory. To rely on the increaſe of the public miſery in France, and to expect general tranquillity as the reſult of it, is as if nations had formerly thought themſelves ſecure from the devaſtations of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals, becauſe thoſe hordes of barbarians had neither money nor credit, order or diſcipline."

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On the 25th of January (1795) the attorney-general moved for a renewal of the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act, in direct oppoſition to the recorded verdicts of three ſucceſſive juries that no treaſonable conſpiracy exiſted. This gave riſe to a violent debate. Mr. Lambton, member for Durham, declared, that though a confiding parliament had laſt ſeſſion given credit to his aſſertions, and ſuſpended the Habeas-Corpus Act upon the ſtrength of them, the perſons accuſed of treaſon had been acquitted, not merely upon principles of law but of common ſenſe. The evidence had totally failed on the part of the crown lawyers; and their own witneſſes had diſproved their caſe. He wiſhed to know on what pretence miniſters wanted a renewal of the bill, and demanded ſome information reſpecting theſe hidden conſpiracies.

"Quis? Quid? Ubi? Quibus auxillis? Cur? Quomodo? Quando?"

Mr. Hardinge, a court lawyer on the other ſide, ſtrongly contended for the exiſtence of a conſpiracy, though no conſpirators had yet been found whom the law had been able to reach. The late verdict of the juries would of itſelf encourage thoſe who had embarked in thoſe wicked counſels. He affirmed that it was no *common treaſon* that lay before them—it was not Engliſh but French treaſon, and proved by a maſs of evidence, which, though it could not effect conviction in the courts of law, well warranted the paſſing of the Suſpenſion Bill. Mr. Erſkine remarked, that it was beyond his ability to comprehend how there could exiſt a conſpiracy without conſpirators. A conſpiracy in the abſtract might indeed be ſuppoſed without known or detected conſpirators; but the authors of this pretended plot had been known by government, and by the public at large, for two years, and been proſecuted without effect—and the verdicts of three juries completely negatived the conſpiracy. But *king's friends*, he feared, would never be quiet, till they had deſtroyed all kingly governments. Every loſs of power

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power and affection had uniformly arisen from their pernicious counsels.---On the division, at a very late hour, the numbers were 230 to 53; and the bill being transmitted to the lords, passed there by a similar majority, but accompanied by a vigorous protest signed by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

On the 4th of February Mr. Pitt delivered to the house of commons a message from his majesty, intimating that a loan would be wanting to aid the exertions of the emperor during the next campaign, on the credit of his hereditary dominions, which would probably require the guarantee of the British government. In the subsequent discussion of this topic, Mr. Sheridan expressed a wish to obtain some positive security from his imperial majesty that those exertions should be made which were the conditions of the loan; and in order to awaken the sense of honor in the Austrian ministry, he thought it might be of importance to come to some resolve, expressive of indignation and contempt, with respect to the flagrant violation of faith, on the part of his Prussian majesty; and he then moved a resolution to that effect. Mr. Pitt allowed that the country had just cause of dissatisfaction in relation to the king of Prussia, but thought the motion inexpedient, and the house passed to the order of the day. Mr. Pitt then made a florid harangue, enumerating the many and great advantages England might expect to reap from so powerful a cooperation as the loan in question would enable the court of Vienna to make. An argument indeed had been adduced against this measure, which, if carried to its extent, would end in the annihilation of every system of alliance. But were we never to enter into a treaty with any monarch because one had broken his faith? It was the interest of the emperor to fulfil his engagements, and pride and honor called upon him to exert himself with effect. Comparing the sum, 4,600,000*l.* with the assistance required, it was purchasing that assistance very reasonably; and even if the whole

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whole weight of this burden fell upon us, it would not be wiſe or politic to ſuffer the defection of Auſtria from the confederacy. Mr. Pitt urged the advantageous terms of this loan, which, for every 300*l.* actually advanced, offered a debenture of 400*l.* upon the Bank of Vienna, *and the emperor might be ſued in his own courts!*

Mr. Fox denied that it was the intereſt of the emperor to continue the war, and mentioned the wretched ſtate of the imperial finances, and the utter inability of the emperor, as was notorious from the attempts already made on the Engliſh Exchange, to raiſe this loan without the guarantee of England, by which we made the debt our own; and it was eaſy to foreſee that every ſhilling advanced would be irrecoverably loſt. He therefore objected to this mode of affording aſſiſtance, as much worſe than that of a ſubſidy payable at ſtated periods, and over which we ſhould therefore retain ſome control.—But the addreſs, as moved by Mr. Pitt, in anſwer to the royal meſſage, paſſed by a very great majority.

On the 23d of February Mr. Pitt came forward with his annual ſtatement of ſupplies, ways, and means. One hundred thouſand ſeamen and a hundred and fifty thouſand landmen, including militia, were voted for the ſervice of the year. The loan propoſed was eighteen millions, the largeſt ever voted by parliament, for which an equal capital in the three-per cents. and ſix millions in the four-per cents. were created, and about one-half per cent. long annuity: and ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds in new taxes of various kinds were propoſed, all of which paſſed with trifling oppoſition; and the whole expenſe of the war, which had as yet laſted two years only, was moderately computed, including the unfunded debt, at fifty millions; *i. e.* as much as the aggregate expenditure of the ten-years' glorious war of queen Anne, in the courſe of which the Low Countries were conquered for the houſe of Auſtria, the empire ſaved, and France itſelf attacked and invaded on every ſide. But

now

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now how great the contraſt! The Low Countries for ever loſt, Holland invaded, and neither diſpoſed nor able to reſiſt,—an Engliſh army, commanded by a prince of the blood, flying before the French, and driven to take refuge on board their ſhips,—Spain, Italy, and Germany, ſucceſsfully attacked by the arms of France,—and Pruſſia, after receiving immenſe ſums from England, baſely abandoning the confederacy ſhe herſelf had firſt ſuggeſted and formed, in violation of her moſt ſolemn engagements:—and, what was infinitely the worſt of all, a parliament, not poſſeſſing a ſpark of the old Engliſh ſpirit, loſt to every ſenſe of national honor, ſunk into a ſtate of ſtupefaction, obſtinately and idiotically confiding in a miniſter whoſe viſionary plans and projects had been every-where defeated, and whoſe predictions had been uniformly falſified—a miniſter evidently deſtitute of the talents neceſſary for carrying on any war but the WAR of WORDS—a bullying, boaſting, Bobadil ſtateſman!

Various efforts were made, very early in the preſent ſeſſion, to induce parliament to come to ſome general reſolution which might render it neceſſary for the executive government to ſet on foot a negotiation for peace. On the 26th of January Mr. Grey moved, "That it is the opinion of this houſe that the exiſtence of the preſent government of France ought not to be conſidered as precluding at this time a negotiation of peace." This reſolution, Mr. Grey ſhewed, "was highly requiſite, in order to prove to the French that the preſent war was not regarded by the legiſlature as a war *uſque ad internecionem*, however it might be repreſented by individuals; and averred that it was not his intention to propoſe any thing incompatible with any former vote, addreſs, or reſolution, of the houſe." This motion was ſo ſeaſonable and popular, and the impreſſion made upon the houſe by the late ſpeech of Mr. Wilberforce was ſuch, that Mr. Pitt could not venture to put a direct negative upon it; he therefore evaded the propoſition by moving the following inſidious

inſidious amendment :—" That, under the preſent circumſtances, this houſe feels itſelf called upon to declare its determination firmly and ſteadily to ſupport his majeſty in the vigorous proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, as affording at this time the only reaſonable expectation of permanent ſecurity and peace to this country; and that, for the attainment of theſe objects, this houſe relies with equal confidence on his majeſty's intention to employ vigorouſly the force and reſources of the country in ſupport of its eſſential intereſts, and on the deſire uniformly manifeſted by his majeſty to effect a pacification on juſt and honorable grounds with any government in France, under whatever form, which ſhall appear capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other countries." Mr. Pitt declared this amendment to be conſonant to the terms of his majeſty's former declarations; and he contended that every nation at war with another ought not to treat for peace with a government that could not give ſecurity. He was therefore not ready to treat with the preſent government of France; and he took upon him to affirm, that, ſince the commencement of the preſent war, there exiſted not in that country a government capable of maintaining with other nations the accuſtomed relations he had ſtated—*not recollecting*, doubtleſs, that France had actually maintained, during the whole period of the war, the relations of peace and amity with Denmark, Sweden, and America. The commerce and agriculture of France were repreſented by Mr. Pitt as in a moſt diſaſtrous ſituation—their financial reſources as in a rapid ſtate of decay—juſtice almoſt unknown—and, with reſpect to religion, he aſked, would the houſe willingly treat with a nation of atheiſts?—The revolutionary ſyſtem was not eſſentially varied ſince the late changes: he would not, however, ſay that they might not improve, but that time had not arrived: when it did, if they gave to their government that ſtability and authority which afforded grounds of moral probability that we might

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treat for peace with ſecurity, then we might negotiate; but we ought in prudence to wait the return of ſuch circumſtances as would afford us a probability of treating with ſucceſs.

Mr. Wilberforce remarked "that on one point the houſe appeared perfectly agreed—the propriety of declaring the republican form of government no bar to negotiation. He thought the terms of the amendment not ſufficiently explicit: it propoſed relying on the diſpoſitions always manifeſted by his majeſty of effecting a pacification, whereas it did not appear to be fact that his majeſty had always made a clear manifeſtation of ſuch a diſpoſition. The declaration of our allies gave the French reaſon to believe that the reſtoration of the antient government was in contemplation. In our preſent ſituation we had only a choice of evils; and ſuch a peace as could be made with the preſent government of France was a leſs evil than continuing the war on the principles by which it had hitherto been directed, and far more ſo than ſuch a peace as we might ultimately be obliged to accept. "There were," he ſaid, "various modes by which nations placed in the relation of England and France might treat without humiliation on either ſide. England," he obſerved upon the authority of Mr. Hume, "had too great a propenſity to war, and was too pertinacious in continuing it."

Mr. Fox appealed to the houſe "Whether it was to be expected that the French would be the firſt to negotiate after the declarations made againſt them by miniſters. What," he aſked, "would have been the feelings of Engliſhmen if the Convention had determined never to treat with them till there was a reform in the Engliſh government? We muſt," ſaid this great ſtateſman, "do away all our arrogant expreſſions againſt France; and then, even though we ſhould not be able to obtain peace, yet we ſhould take from them the cauſe of their enthuſiaſm, that which rouzed every rational feeling, and had carried them to unparalleled exertions."

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—The original motion of Mr. Grey was at length negatived, and the amendment of Mr. Pitt adopted, by the accuſtomed majority.

A ſimilar motion was brought forward in the houſe of peers by the duke of Bedford, on the following day, ſeconded by the duke of Norfolk, which was ſuperſeded by an amendment copied from that of Mr. Pitt by lord Grenville, who declared his belief that a majority of the French were favorers of royalty, and that the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy preſented the moſt probable hopes of peace.—The amendment was oppoſed in a ſpeech of great energy and eloquence by the celebrated Watſon, biſhop of Landaff. This prelate ſaid, "that he could not, without clearer proof than had yet appeared, admit the original juſtice of the war, or, of conſequence, the neceſſity of it; for no war could be neceſſary that was not juſt. There had been a time when Great Britain could have mediated with efficacy between France and the Germanic powers, and might have inſiſted upon each party confining themſelves within their ancient bounds, at the ſame time renouncing every claim to interfere in their internal affairs. His lordſhip ſhewed the abſurdity of continuing the war in order to ſtop the progreſs of democratic opinions; and added, that the governments of Europe would find their trueſt ſafety in exerciſing their power with equity and moderation. The Britiſh conſtitution admitted of improvement, and admitted it not only with ſafety but facility. He urged the importance of immediate negotiation, in order to promote union at home. To perſiſt in the ſame courſe, under every alteration of circumſtances, was not firmneſs but obſtinacy. It was a miſtaken notion of firmneſs that loſt us America. With regard to the atrocities committed by the French, whatever might be their number or magnitude, who made us the avengers of guilt, or inveſted us with a right to diſpenſe the judgments of Providence? To God, not to us, they were accountable, and to him alone did juſtice and judgment

ment belong. The French, we are told, are atheiſts, and this is urged as a reaſon for perſiſting in the war againſt France. Preſumptuous idea! Miſerable beings as we are, did we imagine that the arm of fleſh was wanted to aſſiſt and enforce the will of the ALMIGHTY? The abuſe of religion had been miſtaken in France for religion itſelf. Hence, in the eagerneſs of her enthuſiaſm for the reform of religious abuſes, ſhe had renounced religion altogether, and been betrayed by the falſe light of philoſophy into infidelity. But he doubted not but the miſt in which they were at preſent bewildered would ſoon be diſperſed, and Chriſtianity appear in a purer form than ever."—The diviſion upon the motion of amendment was 88 to 15 peers.

Not diſcouraged with the ill ſucceſs of his former motion, and deſirous to improve whatever impreſſion had been made by it, Mr. Grey, on the 6th of February, moved the following well-weighed and judicious reſolution:—"That this houſe, conſidering that, in the ſupport which it has given to his majeſty in the proſecution of the preſent war, it has at no time had any other object but to reſtore to theſe kingdoms the bleſſings of an equitable peace; that with a view to accompliſh this humane and deſirable end, every formal difficulty which may ſtand in the way of a pacific negotiation with the powers with which we are at war ought, in the firſt inſtance, to be removed; and that without ſome acknowledgment of the exiſtence of a competent power in France with which his majeſty may negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace on juſt and reaſonable terms for both parties, there can be no termination of the preſent war but in the deſtruction of one of them;—conſidering further, that the exiſtence of ſuch a competent power in France has been directly acknowledged by ſeveral of the powers in Europe, as well as by the United States of America, with all of whom, during the preſent war, France has maintained the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity;—and conſidering alſo that the exiſtence of ſuch a competent

competent power in France has been, in various inſtances, virtually admitted even by the belligerent powers themſelves, ſome of whom have entered into public reſolutions to make overtures for peace,—is of opinion that the government now exiſting in France is competent to entertain and conclude a negotiation for peace with Great Britain."—After an animated debate, the previous queſtion, moved by Mr. Dundas, was carried by 190 to 60 voices.

In the houſe of peers, on the 12th of February, the duke of Bedford made a nearly ſimilar motion, which was oppoſed, and the previous queſtion moved, by lord Hawkeſbury—the numbers being 101 to 15; againſt which the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale, Buckinghamſhire, and Guildford, entered their proteſt.

The harſh and haughty language of the king's ſpeech, at the commencement of the ſeſſion, had given general diſguſt; and Mr. Pitt had been forced to a conceſſion, which was probably not within the ſcope of his original intention. The nation, at this period of the conteſt, ſeemed wearied and diſpirited; the high and flattering hopes which Mr. Pitt had taught them to indulge had vaniſhed into air, and they were not yet rouzed to higher exertion by the ſenſe of danger and ſelf-preſervation. Taking advantage of this ſtate of the public mind, and of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce and his party from the court, Mr. Fox, in a moſt able and luminous ſpeech, moved, on the 24th of March, "That the houſe of commons ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to inquire into the ſtate of the nation." This ſolemn mode of inquiry ought not, he obſerved, ever to be reſorted to but in caſes of peculiar emergency, and ſuch he eſteemed the preſent. He had himſelf introduced a ſimilar motion, in 1777, after the ſurrender at Saratoga; but the perils to the country then were trifling and inſignificant compared with what they were at preſent. If, when the public mind was evidently changed, the houſe ſhould continue to repoſe a blind confidence

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fidence in miniſters, to impoſe new burdens on the people, not only without requiring them to negotiate, but even without demanding of them any account of the blood and treaſure they had ſquandered, great advantage muſt be given to whoever wiſhed to diſſeminate diſſatisfaction. In juſtification of his motion, nothing more, he thought, was neceſſary, than to ſtate to the houſe, that, after a war of two years, we had been uniformly unſucceſsful, had relinquiſhed the object for which the war was ſaid to be undertaken, while the enemy had gained more than the wildeſt imaginations ever aſcribed either to their ambition or principles. An inquiry muſt, in one view, be favorable even to miniſters themſelves. If we had, as miniſters aſſerted, entered into the war from neceſſity, and had conducted it, as they alſo aſſerted, with wiſdom and vigor, the reſult would be abſolute deſpair. But perhaps they did not do their cauſe juſtice. Perhaps the cauſe of failure might inhere in the theoretic principle; and their practical meaſures, founded upon that erroneous principle, might be judicious and proper. Perhaps, on the other hand, their theory was ſound and juſt, but their mode of carrying it into execution, their practical meaſures, might be found unwiſe and indigeſted. In either caſe the public would receive ſome ſatisfaction; and they would, upon inquiry, either change the principle or cenſure the conduct; and miniſters would be relieved from one part at leaſt of the twofold imputation, which, previous to any inquiry, muſt hang over their heads.

Great Britain, Mr. Fox ſaid, had a right to demand an inquiry into the conduct of the king of Pruſſia. Was he an ally? Was he neutral? Was he an enemy? That monarch had alleged that he could do nothing without a ſubſidy: we had given him 1,200,000*l.* and the uſe he made of it was to attack Poland. The emperor was equally unable to move without the aid of a loan; and England muſt, it was manifeſt, ſuſtain the whole weight of the war.

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Great ſubſidies were alſo paid to the Italian princes, though we ſcarcely heard of a movement in that country. Spain had loſt Navarre, Biſcay, and Catalonia, and muſt alſo be ſubſidized, or ſoon make peace with the enemy. All this called for inquiry. What was our conduct to the neutral powers—to America—whom we had firſt ſhamefully injured, then ſervilely courted? To the court of Denmark, whoſe wife policy reflected ſuch high honor on her firſt miniſter, the count de Bernſtorf? To Tuſcany? To Switzerland? To Genoa?

Mr. Fox again inſiſted, in the ſtrongeſt terms, upon the propriety and neceſſity of a ſpecific avowal of the object of the war. Is it merely to repel certain acts of aggreſſion, without adverting to any particular form of government in France? Then ſay diſtinctly what are thoſe aggreſſions, and what the reparation you require.—Is it to wreſt the Low Countries from the enemy, and to confine France to her antient limits? Avow it to be ſo, without diſguiſe.—Is it to reſtore the antient monarchy, or any form of monarchy in France? Declare in this, and in every caſe, your object, openly and fairly, and you will not fail to ſecure many adherents and partizans. But miniſters had ſo ſhuffled and trimmed between different ſyſtems, they had dealt out their declarations and profeſſions in ſuch ambiguous language, that they had loſt all claim and title to confidence; and, through the puerile hope of embracing the incompatible advantages of theſe different plans, they had forfeited every benefit to be derived from the decided adoption of any one of them.

What could the great body of the emigrants ſuppoſe when they ſaw Valenciennes and Condé taken poſſeſſion of in the name, not of Louis XVIII. but of the emperor; and the French Weſt-India iſlands in that of the king of England? Unqueſtionably, that we were fighting merely for the ſpoils of France.

Even

Even at ſea, where our fleets were triumphant, Mr. Fox remarked that, in the ſecond year after France took part in the American war, the number of captures was 499. In the ſecond year of this war the number was 860. All this demanded enquiry.

He then adverted to the condition of Ireland, the irritated ſtate of which was to be aſcribed, according to every appearance, to the miſconduct of miniſters. If the houſe refuſed to make any enquiry into theſe things, they would make themſelves reſponſible for all the calamities which might and probably would enſue. The policy of miniſters in relation to Ireland had been marked with the ſame ambiguity and inconſiſtency as their conduct towards France. He thought highly of the eloquence, and even of the talents, of the preſent miniſter, as exerted in a particular line; but he was a miniſter of art and plauſibility merely, not of diſcernment, not of candor, not of generoſity—'in rebus politicis, nihil ſimplex, nihil apertum, nihil honeſtum'

Mr. Pitt, in reply, aſked whether, at a period ſo arduous and important, and ſo late in the ſeſſion, it could be deemed expedient to commence ſo extenſive an inveſtigation? Every topic in the ſpeech juſt ſpoken had been fully diſcuſſed and decided upon: ſuch a committee as that required was, therefore, as unneceſſary as improper; it could anſwer no poſſible good purpoſe at the preſent moment: whenever *a proper period* arrived for inveſtigating the conduct of the executive government, it would be found marked by moderation and forbearance. He poſitively diſavowed the propoſition that a nation, on entering into a war, was bound to ſtate all its objects, and thus preclude itſelf from taking advantage of fortuitous circumſtances as they might ariſe. Mr. Pitt concluded with moving the queſtion of adjournment, which, after a debate of many hours, was carried by a majority of 219 to 63 voices. Upon this occaſion, as on various others, it was remarked that a great

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proportion of the members preſent left the houſe without voting.

Lord Fitzwilliam, having now returned from Ireland, after a government of three months' duration only, appeared, on the 24th of April, in the houſe of peers, and in a manly and ſpirited manner challenged miniſters to a full inveſtigation of the cauſes of his removal. He ſaid they had inſinuated blame to him, and the gauntlet they had thus thrown down he willingly took up. A profound ſilence enſuing on the part of adminiſtration, the duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to addreſs the king, that thoſe parts of the correſpondence between lord Fitzwilliam and the miniſtry which related to his lordſhip's recall from his government ſhould be laid before the houſe. This was debated in a very full houſe on the 8th of May, the motion being ſupported, excluſive of thoſe lords who uſually acted in oppoſition, by the duke of Leeds, the earl of Moira, and lord Fitzwilliam himſelf, who poſitively avowed that he went out expreſsly authoriſed to complete the meaſure of Catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the ſteps he had adopted for that purpoſe until he had proceeded to the diſmiſſion of certain perſons in office inimical to that meaſure, and had taken other gentlemen obnoxious to miniſters here into his favour and confidence. —Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal diſcuſſion of the ſubject, being prevented, as he alleged, by *reaſons of ſtate* which he could not properly explain. But he aſked in what reſpect the ſituation of a lord-lieutenant differed from that of any other miniſter of the crown, who might be removed at pleaſure? and affirmed that the noble earl complained with an ill grace of being himſelf removed from office after he had exerciſed his authority in the removal of ſo many others. His lordſhip ſaid he had ſeen the removal of many lord-lieutenants without a ſingle complaint to parliament on the ſubject; and to adopt a new courſe would

would be to change the conſtitution.—After a long and vigorous debate the houſe divided: contents, 25; not-contents, 100.

A ſimilar motion made by Mr. Jekyl in the houſe of commons, and ſeconded by Mr. Fox in a ſpeech of great political comprehenſion and ſagacity, was negatived by 188 to 49 voices.

The laſt effort of the ſeſſion to reſcue the nation from the calamities of an unjuſt and unneceſſary war was made by Mr. Wilberforce on the 27th of May. He began by ſtating the general expectation of pacification, and the ſatisfaction which had ariſen from it. Though he did not profeſs to go the length of *Vox populi vox Dei*, he thought the univerſal wiſh and deſire of the people ſhould only be ſuperſeded by extraordinary circumſtances. It was an important duty, in every war, to look out continually for every opening which might lead to a concluſion of it, to ſee whether the original motives ſtill ſubſiſted, and whether it was needful to purſue the path we were treading. From a full review of the ſtate of our allies he was of opinion that very ſlender aſſiſtance was to be expected from any of them; and the aſpect of affairs in France afforded little encouragement obſtinately to proſecute the war againſt her. The inſurrections in that country were quelled; ſhe had made her peace with Ruſſia and Tuſcany; ſhe had ſubdued Holland; and, notwithſtanding the depreciation of her paper money, it did not appear that the operations of the French government were any-wiſe impeded; nor could he ſee when the entire ruin of the French finances, ſo much talked of and ſo often foretold, was to take place. Her armies exhibited no ſymptoms of diſcontent, or her rulers of apprehenſion. The ſituation of Ireland, Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, was truly critical, and the continuance of the war was much more likely to diffuſe French principles there than the termination of it. As to the ſafety of Europe, did it belong to England to fight her battles almoſt without aſſiſtance?

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assistance? Europe was able to take care of itself, and several of the confederate powers had already signed treaties with the French government; and the emperor himself, in his rescript to the diet, had very recently notified his willingness to enter into negotiation with France. The motion he meant to propose merely prepared the way for treating, and, in words less strong than those used in the imperial rescript, declared, "That it is the opinion of the house that the present circumstances of France ought not to preclude the British government from entertaining proposals for a general pacification; and that it is for the interest of Great Britain to make peace with France, if it can be fairly and honorably effected."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Windham, who avowed his opinion that peace, at the present moment, was neither safe nor honorable. It was evident that the exertions of the revolutionary government had relaxed, that its fortune had reached its height, and that it exhibited unequivocal symptoms of decay. Nothing but such motions as the present could prevent a speedy termination of the contest, and he contended that all France was rapidly adopting the sentiment of La Vendée. The motion was calculated to remove ministers from their situations, while the prospect of ultimate success from a continuance of the war was infinitely more flattering than ever; it tended to promote disaffection at home, to strengthen the enemy;—And said, that the cry of peace proceeded from the Jacobine faction in this country, and that the same sentiment was characteristic of the same party all over Europe.* He concluded

* Mr. Windham, being a profound metaphysician and adept in logic, without doubt relied for the justness of his conclusion on the following acute syllogism:

If there are persons in England, and in the other European nations, who are advocates for peace, those persons are Jacobins.

But there are persons in this, and in all the countries of Christendom, who are the professed and zealous advocates for peace.

Ergo,

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cluded with moving the order of the day.—Mr. Pitt corroborated the aſſertion of Mr. Windham, and affirmed, that, from the diſtractions which prevailed in France, and the diſcontents of the people, a new order of things might be expected to ariſe, more favorable to the ſucceſs of the war than had hitherto appeared. The exertions of the country were, he ſaid, manifeſtly on the decline: the depreſſed ſtate of the aſſignats, and the incredible expenditure, proved them in a ſtate which might well be ſtyled bankruptcy.—The motion of Mr. Wilberforce was ſuperſeded by the order of the day, on a diviſion of 211 to 88 voices: ſo that the oppoſition had evidently gained conſiderable ground in the courſe of the ſeſſion.—A ſimilar motion by the earl of Lauderdale, in the upper houſe, was negatived by a great and overwhelming majority.

In the courſe of the preceding winter a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between the prince of Wales and the princeſs Caroline, daughter to the duke of Brunſwic. Early in the month of April the princeſs arrived in England, when the nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. It was, however, well underſtood that the prince acceded to this alliance with much reluctance—his attachment to the accompliſhed Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had undoubtedly paſſed, having ſuffered no diminution. He was induced to this fatal compliance by two conſiderations; firſt, the preſſing inſtances of the king to diſſolve his connection with the lady who had ſo long been in poſſeſſion no leſs of his eſteem than his affection; and, ſecondly, the promiſe poſitively made to him that immediate proviſion ſhould be made for the diſcharge of his debts, now increaſed to a vaſt amount.

In

Ergo, Thoſe perſons are certainly Jacobins. *Q. E. D.*
Gratiano ſpeaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice.

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In conſequence of a meſſage from the king, delivered by Mr. Pitt, ſtating the reliance of his majeſty upon the generoſity of the houſe to enable him to ſettle an eſtabliſhment upon the prince and princeſs ſuited to their rank and dignity, and to relieve him from his preſent incumbrances, the houſe went, May 4, into a committee on this ſubject. Mr. Pitt, in the committee, declared that it was not his majeſty's intention to require a ſpecific ſum for the diſcharge of the debts of his royal highneſs, but to ſet apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament to their gradual liquidation. The extent of the debts was ſtated by Mr. Pitt at between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, no part of which, he ſaid, could poſſibly be defrayed out of the civil liſt. He obſerved that the preſent income of the prince was 60,000 *l.* per annum, excluſive of the duchy of Cornwall, which he eſtimated at 13,000 *l.*; that the late prince of Wales, father of the preſent king, and the late king George II. when prince, poſſeſſed a net income of 100,000 *l.* without that duchy, at a time, when money was of much more value than at preſent. He therefore propoſed that the revenue of his royal highneſs ſhould be 125,000 *l.* excluſive of the duchy; that the jointure of the princeſs ſhould be 50,000 *l.* per annum; and that the proportion of the prince's income appropriated for the payment of his debts ſhould be veſted in the hands of commiſſioners. And in order that effectual proviſion might be made to prevent the recurrence of any ſuch claim in future, he recommended that no arrear ſhould, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter; that debts not then claimed ſhould wholly lapſe; and that all ſuits for the recovery of debts from his royal highneſs ſhould lie againſt his officers.

Theſe ſeveral regulations, though very neceſſary and proper, being deemed, by ſome admirers of étiquette, incompatible with the rank and dignity of the great perſonage concerned---much more ſo, doubtleſs, in their eſtimation, than

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than the contracting of debts he was unable to pay---the prince, with his characteriſtic generoſity, and an implicit avowal of his former indiſcretion, ſent, on the 1ſt of June, a meſſage to the houſe by his attorney-general, Mr. Anſtruther, ſtating "That he was deſirous to acquieſce in whatever might be the ſentiments of the houſe, both with reſpect to his future expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him for the diſcharge of his debts; his wiſh was entirely to conſult the wiſdom of parliament. He was perfectly diſpoſed to acquieſce in any abatement of ſplendor they might judge neceſſary, and deſired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially diſpoſed to think he ought to have. In fine, whatever meaſures were taken by parliament, would meet with his hearty concurrence."---The prince of Wales had now paſſed the ſeaſon of youth, the errors incident to which, it might reaſonably be hoped, he had by this time ſeen and relinquiſhed. He poſſeſſed an excellent natural underſtanding, liberal ſentiments, engaging manners, with many amiable and eſtimable qualities. In alleviation of the imprudence he had ſhewn, and of the ſevere cenſure he had too juſtly incurred by contracting a ſecond time, in the ſpace of eight years, ſo vaſt a debt, could only be alleged the extreme inadequacy of his income to his ſtation in life. From the aggregate amount of the debt, ought, however, in reaſon and equity, to be deducted the proceeds of the revenue of Cornwall during his minority, amounting, according to the accounts laid before parliament, to the ſum of 233,000 *l.* and which, under the guardianſhip of the Court of Chancery, it was remarked, would have produced 350,000 *l.* This the king had received, as if it were a branch of the civil liſt, for twenty-two years, under the poor pretence of defraying the expence of the prince's education. And if this deduction be admitted, the general expenditure of the prince will not be found, at the average, from the period of his attaining the age of majority to the preſent

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preſent time, much to exceed the reaſonable allowance of 100,000 *l.* per annum.

It appeared, in the courſe of this inveſtigation, much to the honor of the prince, that he had actually ſome time ſince come to a reſolution not to apply again to parliament, to retire from public life, and apply the greateſt part of his income to the payment of his debts, agreeably to the advice of lord Thurlow and others; but that from this laudable deſign he was vehemently diſſuaded by lord Loughborough, who, no doubt, ſpoke from direction, and who pretended that the advice in queſtion favored too much of that given to M. Egalité, and he could gueſs from what quarter it came. The plan was therefore relinquiſhed. It was at length agreed, that the annual ſum of 78,000 *l.* ſhould be appropriated to the diſcharge of the debts, which, it was calculated, would completely liquidate them in the ſpace of nine years. In the mean time the prince, as the penalty of his indiſcretion, was ſatisfied to live in a comparatively private manner upon the remaining 60,000 *l.* and a bill, containing the proviſions above mentioned, in a few weeks paſſed, with pretty general concurrence, through both houſes.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the immediate abolition of the infamous ſlave-trade, and was ably ſupported by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Pitt; but the houſe was now grown cold and callous to all reaſoning upon this ſubject; and, on the propoſition of Mr. Dundas, who ſtill profeſſed himſelf friendly to the object, but adverſe to the time, the conſideration of the queſtion was adjourned for ſix months.

Late in the ſeſſion Mr. Dundas made a very favorable report of the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company's affairs and finances, which he aſſerted to be better by the ſum of 1,412,249 *l.* than at the laſt annual ſtatement, which the houſe confirmed by the ſanction of their vote.

The

The long-depending cauſe of Mr. Haſtings, which began February 12th, 1788, terminated during the preſent ſeſſion. The charges againſt him had been compriſed under four heads: 1. The Rajah Cheyt Sing. 2. The Begums of Oude. 3. Preſents. 4. Contracts. The report of the committee of peers was received on the 2d of April, and on the 23d the articles of accuſation were ſubmitted to the deciſion of the houſe of lords. Out of four hundred peers, twenty-nine only deemed themſelves competent to vote on the queſtions before the court; and of theſe, eight, viz. the lord-chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Carnarvon, Radnor, Fitzwilliam, Suffolk, and Mansfield, and lord Walſingham, gave a verdict of guilty upon one or other of the charges preferred againſt him: ſo that the acquittal could by no means be conſidered either as unanimous or honorable. The truth is, that from the extraordinary length of this trial, the complexity of the evidence, and the multiplicity of the documents to be conſulted, and, above all, from the obſcurity in which the merits of the cauſe were involved by being made for ſo many years the perpetual theme of eloquence, it was very difficult, without beſtowing a larger ſhare of attention, or poſſeſſing an higher portion of diſcrimination, than falls to the lot of the generality of perſons, to determine without heſitation, upon the political character and conduct of the accuſed. Had the evidence been condenſed into a moderate compaſs, and diveſted of the pomp of declamation and the violence of invective, it would have ſtruck the public mind much more forcibly, and Mr. Haſtings would ſcarcely have eſcaped the cenſure and puniſhment due to a ſtate-delinquent. Or if the houſe of peers had at all events returned a verdict of Not Guilty, the houſe of commons would have ſtood juſtified in the view of the world at large, and the political reputation of Mr. Haſtings would have ſuſtained irreparable injury. Upon the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that this famous trial, which had attracted, by its importance and

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and duration, the attention of all Europe, was at length brought to a moſt lame and impotent concluſion. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, nevertheleſs, in giving the thanks of the houſe to the managers of the impeachment, in his official capacity, had the complaiſance to ſay, that their exertions in this cauſe had conferred honor not on themſelves only, but on the houſe under whoſe authority they had acted; and he referred with dignity and propriety to the increaſed ſecurity which the conſtitution had derived in the courſe of the proceedings on this trial, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not diſcontinued by a diſſolution of parliament.

The ſeſſion terminated on the 27th of June, 1795. The ſpeech from the throne, on this occaſion ſeemed to breathe much more the air of pacification than at its commencement; and his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to declare it to be impoſſible to contemplate the internal ſituation of the enemy, with whom we were contending, without indulging a hope that the preſent circumſtances of France might, in their effects, haſten the return of ſuch a ſtate of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.

The proceedings of the Iriſh parliament during this ſeſſion were ſcarcely leſs intereſting and important than that of Great Britain. In the coalition which actually took place in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, and which had been more than two years in contemplation, between the exiſting adminiſtration and the Portland party, it was underſtood that the department of Ireland was to be entruſted altogether to the latter; and earl Fitzwilliam accepted the high and arduous office of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, with the avowed purpoſe of admitting and eſtabliſhing the claim of Catholic emancipation in its full extent. That nobleman, diſtinguiſhed by the beneficence of his

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his diſpoſition and rectitude of his intentions, though partially led aſtray by the pernicious counſels of the demoniac Burke, himſelf informs us,* " that when the negotiation between the two political parties was pending, if the general management and ſuperintendance of Ireland had not been offered by Mr. Pitt, *that* coalition could never have taken place: it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation;" and his lordſhip appeals to the duke of Portland, " whether the office was not offered entire? and whether he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt, that it was to be diveſted of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character?" Previouſly to lord Fitzwilliam's acceptance of the vice-royalty, " he had not only ſatisfied himſelf," as he tells us, " that the Catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining diſqualification, but he knew that the duke of Portland perfectly concurred with him in that opinion. And when the queſtion came under diſcuſſion, previous to his departure for Ireland, he found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſame conviction; and," his lordſhip adds, " had I found it otherwiſe I never would have undertaken the government."

Lord Fitzwilliam, however, was by no means an enthuſiaſt in the buſineſs. " It was his intention not preſs the matter prematurely upon the Iriſh legiſlature, but rather to protract it to a period of more general tranquillity; but if the Catholics appeared determined to bring forward the queſtion, he, on his part, would not refuſe them a handſome ſupport on the part of government."

Upon his arrival in Dublin, about the cloſe of the year 1794, his lordſhip directly found, and he forthwith informed the Britiſh cabinet, " that the queſtion would force itſelf upon his immediate conſideration. The buſineſs had been already put into the hands of Mr. Grattan, in whom the lord-lieutenant could repoſe entire confidence; and a riſing

* Vide " Letters to the Earl of Carliſle."

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riſing impatience being apparent amongſt the Catholics after the preſentation of the petitions, there was reaſon to apprehend, had any delay intervened, that the meaſure might be transferred to ſome other perſon with whom the viceroy had no connection, and over whom he could entertain no hope of control." His lordſhip moreover obſerved to the Engliſh cabinet, "that the Iriſh nation were remarkably averſe to the war, and ſome conſiderable conceſſions were conſequently neceſſary to conciliate them." It being well underſtood that lord Fitzwilliam was a decided friend to the Catholic claims, that nobleman was received, on his entrance into the government, with the loudeſt and moſt heartfelt congratulations which had ever been offered upon any ſimilar occaſion. In order to ſecure the ſucceſs of the wiſe and beneficent plans of the Iriſh government now in contemplation, it was deemed abſolutely eſſential by the lord-lieutenant to remove from their ſtations certain perſons who had ever ſtood forward as the determined enemies of Catholic emancipation, and indeed of every ſpecies of political improvement and reform. Amongſt theſe were the chancellor of Ireland, lord Fitzgibbon, Mr. Beresford, brother to the earl of Tyrone, an efficient member of the late adminiſtration holding the office of commiſſioner of the Iriſh treaſury, to which ſeveral others were added—"a perſon laboring," ſuch is the language of lord Fitzwilliam, "under univerſal heavy ſuſpicions, and who would have ſubjected his government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant on his mal-adminiſtration." Alſo Mr. Wolfe, the attorney-general, and Mr. Toler, the ſolicitor-general; propoſing nevertheleſs to alleviate their hard fate by peerages, penſions, or other ſinecure emoluments.

In a letter written by the lord-lieutenant to the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, dated January 15, 1795, he ſtated "his decided opinion that no time was to be loſt, and that, if he received no peremptory inſtructions to the contrary, he ſhould

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ſhould acquieſce in the preſſing inſtances made to him on the part of the Catholics;" at the ſame time mentioning the actual diſmiſſion of Mr. Beresford, who had for many years paſt been the ſecret mover and principal adviſer of the Iriſh counſels---an inviſible miniſter, of more weight than all the oſtenſible ones---the ſpring and centre of the High Church, Tory, and Prerogative ſyſtem in that kingdom—in a word, the Charles Jenkinſon of Ireland. Notwithſtanding this official intimation, no notice was taken, for many weeks, in any diſpatches from England of the grand queſtion of Catholic emancipation. But in the interval Mr. Beresford had repaired to London, and by his bold repreſentations, not to the miniſters only, but, as was confidently reported and believed, to the king himſelf, to whom he obtained eaſy acceſs, he excited an extreme diſlike and apprehenſion of the innovations projected by lord Fitzwilliam. At length, on the 14th of February, the lord-lieutenant received a letter from Mr. Pitt, remonſtrating againſt the actual diſmiſſion of Mr. Beresford, and that in contemplation of Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Toler. By the very ſame mail his excellency received a letter from the duke of Portland, expreſſing, for the firſt time, the doubts and difficulties of the Britiſh cabinet reſpecting the queſtion of emancipation, and ſtrongly recommending the poſtponement of the diſcuſſion in parliament. But this was no longer in lord Fitzwilliam's power. For the ſeſſion having commenced on the 22d of January, Mr. Grattan had, two days previous to the receipt of theſe letters, moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majeſty's ſubjects profeſſing the Roman-catholic religion. On the very ſame evening that the lord-lieutenant received the letters in queſtion he replied to them ably, and largely ſetting forth "the imminent danger of NOW retracting on the Catholic buſineſs," and with noble reſolution refuſing "to be the perſon to raiſe a flame, which nothing but the force of arms could keep down." And his excellency at the

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the ſame time tranſmitted to the duke of Portland ample documents juſtificatory of his ſentiments and conduct. But the Britiſh cabinet ſcarcely deigned to give them the reading. On the 21ſt of February a council was held, at which the duke of Portland aſſiſted; and his grace was by this time grown ſo obſequious a courtier, that he heſitated not to accede to the vote for diſgracing his friend; and ſubmitted to be the efficient inſtrument for tranſmitting to him the letters of recall—Lord Camden, ſon of the late illuſtrious nobleman of that name, the heir of his title, but by no means of his talents, being appointed his ſucceſſor.

The intelligence of this fatal recall was as a politico-volcano convulſion, which ſhook the iſland to its centre. A vote of the houſe of commons, expreſſing high approbation of the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam, paſſed, on the motion of Mr. Conolly, with the ſingle diſſentient voice of Mr. Beresford. Addreſſes, containing ſentiments of mingled gratitude and regret, were preſented from all parts of the kingdom to the late viceroy, and ſcarcely could the people reſtrain the emotions of their indignation. After a ſhort viſit to his eſtates in the county of Wicklow, lord Fitzwilliam, on the 25th of March, 1795, took his departure for England. On that memorable day no buſineſs was tranſacted. The citizens appeared in deep mourning, vaſt crowds accompanying his lordſhip to the water-ſide; and, though ſtrong apprehenſions were entertained of popular commotion, a profound and melancholy ſilence prevailed, as if a præternatural foreboding of the horrible events which were to ſucceed oppreſſed and overwhelmed the minds of all with an unutterable weight of ſorrow.

Lord Camden arrived in Dublin on the 31ſt of March, and immediately aſſumed the reins of government. Some diſturbances took place, on the evening of that day, but they were ſoon quelled by the intervention of the military—a wretched omen of his diſaſtrous adminiſtration. On the 13th of April the parliament met purſuant to adjournment,

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and on the 21ſt a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, including the reaſons for the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, which was negatived by a large majority of that very parliament who almoſt unanimouſly, and with an enthuſiaſm unprecedented, had ſupported ALL the meaſures of the preceding adminiſtration. Such was in this unhappy country the wonderful and pernicious extent of the influence of the crown over the deliberations, or rather the determinations of the legiſlative body.

On the 24th of April, Mr. Grattan preſented his famous bill for the emancipation of the Catholics, the principal debate on which took place on the ſecond reading, May 4, when it was finally rejected by a majority of 71 voices, to the inexpreſſible chagrin, gradually kindling into reſentment and rage, of the great maſs of the Iriſh nation. Two of the moſt remarkable ſpeeches delivered in the courſe of this memorable debate were thoſe of Dr. Duigenan, a civilian, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a very young member of the houſe, repreſenting the county of Kerry,—the firſt in oppoſition to, the latter in ſupport of, the meaſure. From the ſpeech of doctor Duigenan, it appeared that the Iriſh Catholicks, deſpairing of ſucceſs, from the period of the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, had already ventured to adopt dangerous and unwarrantable combinations, in order to ſecure their eventual emancipation. A committee of nine, choſen by the Roman-catholics of Dublin, ſeemed to poſſeſs unlimited influence over the Catholic body throughout the kingdom. In conſequence of their recommendation, petitions had been preſented to parliament by the Catholic inhabitants of every county, city, and borough, in the four provinces. A meeting of the general aſſembly of Catholics had been held in the metropolis, April 9, in which, according to the report of doctor Duigenan, ſeveral moſt traitorous and ſeditious ſpeeches were publicly pronounced—openly declaring that the war we were engaged in againſt the French was, on our part, and the part of our allies, an

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impious cruſade againſt liberty; that all victories obtained by his majeſty's arms were public calamities to Ireland, for which her children ought to weep; that they would hereafter never make any application to a Britiſh miniſtry, nor have any connection with them; that they would ſupport a radical reform in the houſe of commons; and that this nation could never be happy till its government was changed into a republic, independent of Great Britain. From all which the doctor inferred "that the general body of Iriſh Catholics had no pretenſions to loyalty, and their petitions in that reſpect contained an acknowledged falſehood;—any bill therefore framed for the political aggrandiſement of a body of people entertaining ſuch deteſtable and traitorous ſentiments ought to be rejected with the utmoſt contempt by the houſe. No ſect of people denying the ſupremacy of the ſtate in one half of its legiſlature and executive authority can with any propriety be put on a level with thoſe who admit in the fulleſt manner the ſupremacy of the ſtate, as well in eccleſiaſtical matters as temporal. As to the power of the Roman-catholics in the ſtate, that," he ſaid, "muſt be eſtimated, not ſo much from their numbers as from their landed eſtates and perſonal property. The landed eſtates in the hands of the Proteſtants in Ireland are in the proportion of fifty to one; and their perſonal property is confined to merchants and traders in the chief commercial towns, and it certainly does not amount to the twentieth part of that of the Proteſtants! 'Tis one of the arts practiſed by the patrons of this bill, to endeavour to intimidate the houſe by prophecies and forebodings of dreadful wars, tumults, and maſſacres, which they are conſtantly trumpeting forth, as the certain conſequences of the rejection of this bill. The enjoyment of the repreſentative franchiſe by Roman-catholics in Ireland would ſubvert the conſtitution; and if it were true that the enjoyment of the repreſentative franchiſe is a certain conſequence of the enjoyment of the elective, the argument of the patrons of this bill would only prove that we ought inſtantly to deprive the Roman-

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Roman-catholics of the elective franchiſe, for the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate. If you capacitate Roman-catholics to enjoy all the great offices of ſtate and to ſit in parliament, by paſſing this bill, what is called by the republican faction a reform in parliament muſt be the immediate conſequence, as the repreſentation of all countries, and of all cities and boroughs, where the election is popular, will be open to Catholic ambition. If you confeſs, by paſſing the preſent bill, that you cannot and dare not reſiſt their preſent demand, how will you be able to reſiſt their demand of a reform, when their ſtrength and influence will be increaſed ten-fold, and when their intereſt will draw ſtill cloſer the bands of confederacy between them and the republicans? All ariſtocratical influence will then be baniſhed from this houſe; it will become a mere democratic aſſembly—and the more Catholic the more democratic. Then adieu to all eſtabliſhment!—church and ſtate will vaniſh before them; and an immediate converſion of this monarchical government into a republic, under the protection of France, will be the conſequence. In fact, the Roman-catholics are now completely republicans and democrats:—the Stuart race to which they were attached are extinct; and they mortally hate an Engliſh government, and the houſe of Brunſwic."

Tainted as this ſpeech was with bigotry and malignity, it contained ſome alarming aſſertions, which at leaſt bore ſuch affinity to truth as ſerved to make that ſort of impreſſion which it is difficult completely to counteract. On the other hand, the ſpeech of Mr. O'Connor, amidſt a grand diſplay of juſt and beneficial principles of government, breathed a ſpirit of romance and enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of liberty, very pardonable indeed, if this be not too cold a term to uſe, in ſpeaking of the glowing effuſions of a youthful and generous mind, but which a wiſe and cautious ſtateſman, who looked chiefly to the practical conſequences of meaſures, would be compelled to regard with jealouſy, and to receive with many modifications adapted to the actual ſtate

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of things. "Is it," ſaid this animated orator, "becauſe we were the moſt wretched and miſerable nation in Europe as long as this ſyſtem of monopoly and excluſion, for which the gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe contend, under the title of Conſtitution in Church and State, remained whole and entire—is it becauſe we have heard thoſe gentlemen, year after year, predict the ruin of the country from extending the conſtitution to our Catholic countrymen, and that we have ſeen the country flouriſh in an exact proportion to that extenſion,—that we ſhould now ſtop ſhort on their authority, and conſecrate the remainder of the ſyſtem of monopoly and excluſion? Let the men who have profited by the old ſyſtem, to the monſtrous aggrandizement of themſelves and their connections, riſk what they pleaſe in its defence; but let me conjure the houſe to conſider that they are no longer legiſlating for the barbarous ignorant ages which have gone by, but for the intelligent age in which we live, and for the yet more enlightened centuries which are to come.—The church we are told is in danger—the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion is at ſtake; but thoſe who make this objection have confounded the intereſt of the clergy with the intereſt of religion. I would reſt the whole argument on the fact; I would aſk, has the Proteſtant religion been promoted in proportion as the Proteſtant clergy have been enriched? Has the Catholic religion decayed according to the views of thoſe who doomed the profeſſors of it to poverty? Has not this eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment ſown the ſeeds of eternal rancor, animoſity, and litigation, between the paſtor and his flock? Does it not appear to the world as if this eſtabliſhment was inſtituted to make the people ſenſible of their indigence, by a compariſon with the wealth of the church, the dignities and preferments of which ſerve as a proviſion for the families and connections of the political robbers of the ſtate, and the political advocates for the exiſting ſyſtem; ſo that the Proteſtant religion ſeems

ſeems intended rather to ſupport the eſtabliſhment than the eſtabliſhment to ſupport the religion. I here avow myſelf the zealous and earneſt advocate for the moſt unqualified emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, in the firm conviction that the accurſed monopoly of the rights and liberties of my country, which has hitherto effectually withſtood the efforts of a part of the community, muſt yield to the unanimous will, to the decided intereſt, and to the general effort of a whole people.—We muſt indeed be a ſpiritleſs nation if we do not reſent the baſeneſs of a Britiſh miniſter, who has excited our hopes in order to blaſt them after. He has ſported with the feelings of a whole nation, raiſing the cup with one hand to the parched lip of expectancy; he has daſhed it to the earth with the other, in all the wantonneſs of inſult, and with all the aggravation of contempt. I truſt the people of England are too wiſe and too juſt to attempt to force meaſures upon us they would reject with diſdain themſelves; but if they ſhould be ſo weak, or ſo wicked, as to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by a man to whoſe ſoul duplicity and fineſſe are congenial,—if we are to be dragooned into meaſures againſt the intereſt and againſt the ſenſe of a whole nation,—I truſt in God, Britain will find in this country a ſpirit no way inferior to her own! If, inſtead of reciprocal advantage, nothing is to be reaped from the connection with England but venality, injury, inſult, degradation, and poverty, it is acting only upon the common feelings of human nature if the people of this kingdom are driven to court the alliance of any nation able and willing to break the chains of ſuch a bondage. You are at this moment at the moſt awful period of your lives, you ſtand committed with your country, and on this night your adoption or rejection of this bill muſt determine, in the eyes of the Iriſh nation, which of the two you repreſent—the miniſter of England, or the people of Ireland. The weakneſs of your title ſhould only make you the more circumſpect in the exerciſe of your power. Will you not take

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take warning by the fate of the government of France, which, by not adapting its conduct to the changes of the public mind, has brought ruin on itself, and deſtruction on its country. Do not imagine that the minds of your countrymen have been ſtationary, while that of all Europe has been ſo rapidly progreſſive; for you muſt be blind not to perceive that the whole European mind has undergone a revolution, neither confined to this nor to that country, but as general as the mighty cauſes which have given it birth, and which ſtill continue to feed its growth."—The bill was at length, fatally for Ireland, rejected by a majority of 71 voices; and the houſe ſtanding, according to the ſtriking expreſſion of Mr. O'Connor, *committed with their country*, were, however tremendous the reſponſiblity, obliged to abide the iſſue.

Upon the whole, it was abundantly manifeſt, that the political rectitude of this deciſion depended not upon the abſtract juſtice of the claims inſiſted upon on the part of the Catholics, for of this there could be no poſſible doubt, but upon the grand practical conſideration how far thoſe demands could be granted with ſafety to the exiſting government, which reſted for ſupport upon the continuance of the Proteſtant aſcendancy in parliament. The application of principles, however generally or abſtractedly right, muſt be determined and modified by circumſtances; and the counſels of nations ought to be guided by an enlightened benevolence, and not by an implicit regard to any metaphyſic theory. Allowing and even affirming this as a propoſition moſt important and incontrovertible, it nevertheleſs appears that, upon every principle of policy as well as juſtice, the preſent claim of Catholic emancipation ought to have been conceded in its full extent, and with the moſt cheerful concurrence on the part of government; for this was merely admitting them into a participation of civil liberty, not of political power.

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power. True it is, that the repreſentative franchiſe conſtituted a neceſſary part of the general ſyſtem of emancipation; but, upon the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, it was computed that ſcarcely twenty Catholics would have been elected members. The queſtion of emancipation was therefore by the Catholics invariably aſſociated with that of a reform in parliament. How far this reform, in the actual ſtate of Ireland, could have been granted with ſafety, was a queſtion of deep political conſideration: but, unhappily, it was never ſuffered fairly, and in its full force, to come before parliament. Emancipation, which was both politic and juſt, was refuſed, in order to preclude the legiſlative diſcuſſion of this topic; and an immediate and certain danger of the higheſt magnitude was incurred, in order to avert a remote, contingent, and comparatively trivial one. This is ſufficient to place the guilt and folly of thoſe who reſolved on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam in a conſpicuous point of view, particularly after they had by previous encouragement raiſed univerſally the moſt ſanguine expectations in the minds of the Catholics, whoſe ſubſequent anger and aſtoniſhment muſt have been excited in the ſame proportion. But on an occaſion of this momentous nature it will be pardonable, ſhould hiſtory deviate a little into the regions of ſpeculation, and enquire what would have been the progreſs of the public mind had the Catholic claim of emancipation been granted? In this caſe, as the Catholic would have ſtood, as to the privileges of the conſtitution, in all reſpects upon a level with the Proteſtant,---as the nation, inſtead of being diſtracted by the animoſities of oppoſing factions, would have become one and indiviſible,---by far the moſt powerful motive would have been wanting to induce the Catholics to urge the queſtion of parliamentary reform with the ſame earneſtneſs, or rather vehemence, with which they proſecuted a claim in which every individual of that vaſt body was more or leſs perſonally intereſted. In caſe emancipation had been conceded, every reflecting Catholic would have aſked himſelf, with

with reſpect to parliamentary reform, What benefit ſhall I derive from it beyond what I now enjoy? In general, the anſwer muſt have been, "Very little, perhaps nothing." The probability, nay the moral certainty, therefore is, that the bulk of the Catholics would have been well ſatisfied with that ſpecies of moderate reform in church and ſtate which would have left a vaſt preponderance of power in the hands of the Proteſtants, who were in actual poſſeſſion of a vaſt preponderance of property. The leaders of the Catholics themſelves muſt have been perfectly ſenſible, that to accompliſh ſuch a reform or change in the ſyſtem of repreſentation as would have ſecured to that body a majority in the houſe of commons,—which, conſidering the amazing weight of property in the hands of the Proteſtants, it is indeed probable that univerſal ſuffrage itſelf would have been far from effecting,—muſt have required an effort which, when the Catholics were inveſted with all the privileges of the conſtitution, it was neither worth their while to make, nor would they have been ſupported in the attempt.

Wiſdom and virtue are ſurely not confined to Proteſtants; ALL men amongſt the Catholics, who were not actuated by the mere phrenzy of innovation, would have ſeen that, as members of a great empire, of which they were the minority, it was both their duty and their intereſt to acquieſce in the eſtabliſhed order of things, even in that country of which they conſtituted the majority, when it was founded upon, and exerciſed agreeably to, the principles of juſtice and equity. Conſidering the hazards and dangers of reſiſtance to eſtabliſhed government, it is not in human-nature that it ſhould proceed, if general, from mere caprice. Great injuries muſt be previouſly ſuſtained, and the paſſions muſt be violently inflamed, before ſuch extremities are reſorted to. But emancipation, and its attendant moderate and practical reforms would have annihi-

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lated the actual injury ſuſtained by the Catholics; and an habitual diſpoſition on the part of the government to conciliation and conceſſion, ſo far as the general ſafety and welfare of the ſtate permitted, would effectually have baniſhed from the ſubſequent inveſtigation thoſe angry paſſions which it is the part of a wiſe government to avoid exciting: on the contrary, the oppoſite emotions of gratitude, confidence, and affection, would by this means have been powerfully awakened in the breaſts of that ſuſceptible and generous people; liberal allowance would have been made for the real difficulties of government; and the Iriſh Catholics would have felt in all its force the axiom of the celebrated MILTON, who juſtly and nobly ſays: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope for, that no grievance ever ſhould ariſe in the commonwealth—*that* let no man in this world expect: but where complaints are freely heard, deeply conſidered, and ſpeedily reformed, then is the utmoſt bound of civil liberty attained that wiſe men look for."*

Moſt unfortunately for the intereſts of the Britiſh empire, her affairs had now been for ten years in the hands of a miniſter of great eloquence, art, and addreſs indeed, but who was alike deſtitute of that enlarged comprehenſion of mind, and of thoſe generous feelings of the heart which form, when combined, that greateſt of human characters—the genuine patriot ſtateſman. The voice of Mr. Pitt, when aſpiring to political pre-eminence, had been beyond all others loudeſt in the clamor of reform; and, when he had attained to power, his hand was beyond all others heavieſt in the oppreſſion and perſecution of thoſe who had liſtened to his doctrines and had acted upon his principles.

The ſeſſion of parliament in Ireland ended June the 5th, 1795. The lord-lieutenant, in his ſpeech, touched lightly upon

* Milton's Areopagitica.

upon the diſtracted ſtate of the country, conſequent upon the rejection of the late bill of emancipation; contenting himſelf with an earneſt recommendation to the members of both houſes to make thoſe exertions which the times demanded, and enforcing the neceſſity of an exact ſubmiſſion to the laws—An exhortation, alas! in the preſent temper, or rather diſtemper, of the times, altogether unavailing and uſeleſs. From this period the famous political aſſociation ſtyled the Society of United Iriſhmen rapidly extended itſelf over the whole country, including all the Catholics, and a large proportion of the Proteſtants, of the kingdom; and from this period alſo they began, as was previouſly predicted, to entertain very dangerous views, and to form illegal and treaſonable connections and correſpondences with the government of France. A ſpirit of univerſal diſaffection prevailed. Secret oaths of adherence to the aſſociation were adminiſtered. Agents were ſent to negotiate with the Convention. Acts of ſedition, rapine, and murder, were perpetrated by the moſt deſperate of the lawleſs and licentious populace againſt the bigoted and violent ſupporters of government, who, on the other hand, confederated together for the purpoſes of ſecurity and revenge, under the name of Orangemen, in ſocieties ſtyled Orange-Lodges. Mutual injuries ſoon generated a moſt inveterate and mutual hatred between theſe two deſcriptions of citizens, one of whom was beyond compariſon ſuperior in numbers, the other in property, in legal authority, in military force. Theſe diſſenſions gradually increaſed, till the whole land exhibited a ſcene of conſternation, blood, and horror. It has even been poſitively aſſerted, that entire diſtricts of Catholics were mercileſsly proſcribed by the human fiends ſtyling themſelves Orange-men, and compelled to remove with their families and effects beyond the Shannon, under the penalty of having their habitations burned, their property deſtroyed, and their perſons endangered. 'To CONNAUGHT or to HELL!' was the infernal man-

date

date of theſe villains. Hope fled the country;—men acted under the inſtigation of revenge, and took counſel of deſpair. The dreadful effects of the weak and wicked ſyſtem of mis-government, recommended and acted upon by the enemies of Catholic liberty, and indeed of all liberty, were fully apparent. By the operation of this ſyſtem Ireland was laſhed into madneſs, and driven to crimes and follies which her ſober reaſon would have ſhrunk from with deteſtation.

From this view of civil tranſactions it is now neceſſary to transfer our attention to military concerns, which can ſcarcely exhibit a picture more bloody or diſaſtrous. It has been already mentioned that the Britiſh army, after the abandonment of Nimeguen, took the route of Arnheim and Deventer, under the command of general Abercrombie. They reached the laſt of theſe places at the end of January, 1795, cloſely purſued by a far ſuperior force. In their precipitate retreat—or, to ſpeak plainly, their unintermitted flight—through the country, they continued to ſuffer incredible hardſhips—the partial thaws which took place obliging the ſoldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water. Although they every-where endeavoured to deſtroy the magazines in their line of march, vaſt quantities of artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, fell into the hands of the French. After a very ſhort halt at Deventer the army moved again toward the German frontier; and on the 12th of February they croſſed the Ems at Rheine, being much haraſſed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the diviſion commanded by lord Cathcart was refuſed admittance; but after a long ſeries of diſmal diſaſters, of which the detail may well be ſpared, the ſhattered remains of this fine body of troops, ſuppoſed, at their departure from England, to amount to 35,000 men, now reduced to about a fifth part of the number, reached the city of Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March; and in a ſhort time they embarked on board the tranſports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe for their native country.

Early

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Early in the new year the French armies on the Rhine and Neckar reduced the ſtrong fort du Rhein, on the weſtern bank of the river, which covered the city of Manheim; and formed the blockade of the important town of Mentz. During the winter negotiations had been publicly carrying on between the Convention and the court of Berlin; and on the 5th of April a treaty of peace was ſigned at Baſle between the two powers, the chief condition of which imported that the French ſhould continue to occupy that part of the Pruſſian territory ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine, actually in their poſſeſſion—all definitive arrangements to be poſtponed till a general pacification ſhall take place with the German empire. By a ſubſequent convention a line of demarcation was drawn, comprehending the northern circles of Germany, beyond which the French conſented not to carry their arms; and ſoon afterwards peace was concluded with the French republic by the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the ELECTOR of HANOVER!

Uninterrupted conqueſt ſtill attended the arms of France on the ſide of the Pyrénées. The ſiege of the ſtrong maritime town of Roſes, ſituated eight leagues to the north-eaſt of Girone, in the province of Catalonia, was begun about the cloſe of the preceding year (1794). The heavy artillery had ſcarcely effected a ſlight breach when the volunteers of the beſieging army begged permiſſion to mount; but the garriſon, not daring to ſtand the aſſault, embarked, during the darkneſs of the night, on board the veſſels lying in the harbour; and the French took bloodleſs poſſeſſion of that important fortreſs. A variety of engagements ſucceeded, in which the republicans had uniformly the advantage; and at length, gaining the open country, no impediment ſeemed to remain to prevent their marching to Madrid. But the king of Spain, ſeized with juſt terror, tranſmitted orders to Don Domingo d'Yriate, whom he had nominated his plenipotentiary at Baſle, immediately to conclude a treaty of pacification, which, on the part of the French,

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French, was ſigned on the 22d of July by M. Barthelemy. By this treaty, France agreed to evacuate her conqueſts in Spain, and the Catholic king ceded to the French republic all the Spaniſh part of the iſland of St. Domingo—an invaluable acquiſition, and capable of unlimited improvement.

The grand-duke of Tuſcany alſo, about this period, reſumed his ſyſtem of neutrality, declaring, in a public proclamation (March 1), "That whilſt he enjoyed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing Tuſcany ſuperior as it were to the occurrences of the times, reſting peaceful and quiet on that neutrality which was conſtantly reſpected by the French republic, he found himſelf involved in thoſe unpleaſant tranſactions which are already known to all Europe. Although his royal highneſs was unable to reſiſt them, yet he conſented to nothing but the removal of the French miniſter reſident at his court,—the only act which the imperious circumſtances of the times could extort from him. And his royal highneſs now expreſsly repeals all acts of adheſion, conſent, and acceſſion, to the armed coalition againſt the French republic."—The campaign of this ſummer in Italy afforded no incident worthy of hiſtoric notice: it is ſufficient to ſay, that the French failed in their attempts to eſtabliſh themſelves in the open country of Piedmont.

On the 7th of June the impregnable fortreſs of Luxemburg, which had been in a ſtate of blockade from the time that France had ſubjected the circumjacent country, capitulated upon the moſt honorable terms. The garriſon conſiſted of 10,000 men, commanded by mareſchal Bender, a brave and ſkilful officer, who might, and undoubtedly would, have continued to defend the place, upon the works of which little impreſſion had been made, if he had not deemed the releaſe of ſo large a garriſon more than an equivalent to the emperor for the ſurrender of a fortreſs which it was utterly out of his power to ſuccour. The poſſeſſion of Luxemburg completed the conqueſt of the country.

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country to the left of the Rhine, with the exception of Mentz, which had now been fruitleſsly beſieged for ſeveral months. The Auſtrians, commanded by generals Clairfait and Wurmſer, maintained an uninterrupted intercourſe with the garriſon, from Caſſel, on the oppoſite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect inveſtment was formed, a very large body of the French troops, under general Jourdain, paſſed the Rhine for that purpoſe at Duſſeldorf, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance—the Auſtrians retiring to a ſtrong poſition on the Lahn. Another body, equal in force, commanded by general Pichegru, effected the paſſage of the river at Manheim, of which city they took immediate poſſeſſion, on terms very favorable to the inhabitants. The inveſtment of Mentz was now at laſt accompliſhed, and a confident hope was entertained of its ſpeedy capitulation; but the event ſhewed the uncertainty of war: a diviſion of general Pichegru's army being ordered to the attack of a poſt neceſſary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmſer, now marching to the relief of Mentz, were overpowered, and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Manheim; and Jourdain, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his poſition no longer tenable. The Auſtrians alſo, by an attack on neutral territory, had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdain was therefore obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and repaſſed the Rhine at Duſſeldorf, much haraſſed by general Clairfait in his retreat. The Auſtrians even purſued the enemy acroſs the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, ſpreading terror over the country as far as Luxemburg.

General Wurmſer, on the other ſide, proceeded to the attack of Manheim; and in revenge for the too eaſy ſurrender of this place to the French by the elector, who was anxious for its preſervation, the Auſtrians immediately began a bombardment, which in a ſhort time deſtroyed the principal buildings, public and private, of that beautiful city,

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city, reducing it to a ſcene of horrible deſolation; and of theſe ſmoking ruins, once Manheim, the beſiegers, after making the uſual regular approaches, had the ſatisfaction to become maſters, the garriſon ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Various indeciſive encounters took place between the different armies during the remainder of this campaign, which was at length terminated by an armiſtice of three months, agreed upon by the generals, and ratified by the reſpective belligerent powers.

The marine of France being extremely reduced by the diſaſters of the war, the naval tranſactions of the preſent ſummer, owing to the extreme caution of the enemy, are not very intereſting or memorable. In the month of March an engagement took place in the Mediterranean, off the coaſt of Corſica, between two ſquadrons of nearly equal force, commanded by the admirals Hotham and Richery, which terminated honorably for the Engliſh. The Ca-Ira of eighty, and the Cenſeur of ſeventy-four guns, ſtruck to the Britiſh flag: but on the other hand the French unfortunately captured the Berwick, of ſeventy-four guns, on its way to join the fleet; and the Illuſtrious, of the ſame rate, being much damaged in the fight, was driven on ſhore, and loſt near Avenza.

The very ſkilful and gallant retreat of admiral Cornwallis, with a ſmall ſquadron of five ſhips of the line, from a far ſuperior force, is not undeſerving of hiſtoric mention. The admiral had been for ſome weeks cruizing off Belleiſle, where he had made ſome valuable mercantile captures; but on the 16th of June, ſtanding in with the land near the Penmarks, the Phaëton frigate made a ſignal for an enemy's fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than thirteen line-of-battle ſhips. At nine the next morning the French began the attack, which was vigorouſly repelled by the Engliſh, who kept up a running fight the whole day, without ſuffering the enemy to gain the leaſt advantage. At length, by a well-timed and happy deception, ſignals were thrown out,

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by the repeating-frigate, that a ſuperior Britiſh fleet was in ſight, on which the French thought it moſt prudent to ſheer off.

But on the 23d of the ſame month this very ſquadron actually fell in with a ſuperior fleet, under lord Bridport, off Port L'Orient. The engagement began early in the morning, and laſted till three in the afternoon, by which time three capital ſhips had ſtruck their colors. The reſt of the ſquadron, keeping cloſe in ſhore, eſcaped into L'Orient. On the other hand, the French made, in the month of October, a capture of thirty merchantmen from the Mediterranean and Levant, with a ſhip of the line, conſtituting part of the convoy.

In the Weſt Indies, notwithſtanding the diſparity of naval force, the French, after recovering the whole of Guadaloupe, attacked with ſucceſs the fort of Tiburon in St. Domingo, and made themſelves maſters of St. Euſtatius. Their celebrated leader, Victor Hugues, found means to excite ſuch dangerous inſurrections of the negroes and people of colour in the Engliſh iſlands, that to attempt any other than defenſive meaſures ſeemed wholly impracticable. St. Lucia, after a violent and bloody conflict with the inſurgents, was reluctantly evacuated by the governor-general, Stewart; and Grenada, Dominique, and St. Vincent's, were preſerved with great difficulty. Thoſe whom the ſword ſpared were taken off by the ravages of the yellow-fever---a ſpecies of peſtilential diſorder which now for the firſt time appeared, at leaſt in its preſent dreadful form, in thoſe baneful climes; and the Weſt Indies proved, as uſual, the grave of the Europeans who were deſtined to that fatal ſervice.

A war, originating in an accidental and trivial cauſe, was alſo commenced, on the part of the Engliſh government in Jamaica, againſt the Maroon Indians, a free nation inhabiting a mountainous tract in the interior of the iſland. As they were juſtly deemed very hoſtile and dangerous neighbours,

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bours, the war was conducted in the dreadful ſpirit of extermination; and a new ſpecies of warfare, new at leaſt to England, was reſorted to by the governor, lord Balcarras, who ſent to Cuba for a corps of Spaniſh chaſſeurs, with *blood-hounds*, to be employed in the purſuit and detection of theſe ſwift-footed Indians, who ran wild in the woods, or ſought for refuge in the receſſes of the rocks. In the reſult, all reſiſtance being quelled, that fierce and refractory tribe or nation were tranſported from their own burning clime, acroſs the ocean, to a ſettlement provided for them amid the frozen waſtes of Upper Canada.

In the month of October, 1794, in conſequence of the rapid progreſs of the French arms, an urgent application was made by the Dutch merchants to the Britiſh miniſter for leave to depoſit their treaſure and ſtores in England, without paying the duty *ad valorem* at the Cuſtom-houſe: But Mr. Pitt replied, "that he could not conſent to relax the revenue-laws in this inſtance, ſince it would only ſerve to propagate in this country *the groundleſs and chimerical apprehenſions* entertained in Holland." On the 16th of January following, nevertheleſs, a royal proclamation was iſſued, permitting all goods, wares, merchandize, &c. belonging to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, to be landed in any of the ports of Great Britain, and to be ſecured in the warehouſes of his majeſty, &c. But the time was now paſt; the French were in poſſeſſion of Holland, and no benefit could be derived from this tardy indulgence. A very abrupt termination, however, of theſe friendly diſpoſitions took place on the part of the Britiſh government; for, on the 19th of January, a new proclamation was iſſued, conformably to the miniſterial pole-ſtar of exiſting circumſtances, abſtracted from all conſideration either proſpective or retroſpective—containing peremptory orders to ſeize whatever Dutch veſſels were found in the ports of Great Britain; in conſequence of which, five ſhips of war were ſecured lying in Plymouth Sound, nine Eaſt-Indiamen,

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and about ſixty ſail of other veſſels. On the 9th of February a third proclamation was publiſhed, authorizing the capture of all Dutch ſhips and property; and letters of marque and repriſal were alſo, after an interval of ſome months, granted; ſo that war againſt Holland was virtually declared: And, before the end of the ſummer, the famous ſettlement of the Cape ſurrendered to vice-admiral Elphinſtone almoſt without reſiſtance.

Although this conqueſt was calculated to flatter the vanity of the people of England, it is certain that every purpoſe of real commercial advantage was fully anſwered by it while in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch. The ceſſion of it therefore to this country would only entail upon Great Britain in perpetuity an uſeleſs expenſe, cauſing a freſh increaſe to the enormous influence of the crown, by the additional offices of which it would neceſſarily have the diſpoſal. It could not fail, likewiſe, to be remembered by the nations of Europe, that the original pretext for the war was the protection of the Dutch commonwealth, whoſe territory we had not heſitated to diſmember, and of whoſe property we had now ſhown ourſelves at leaſt as ſtrongly diſpoſed as France to join in the pillage and the plunder. If the object of the war was the defence of Holland, whoſe moſt doubtful rights the court of London had affected to guard with ſuch vigilant jealouſy, the Britiſh miniſters might conſider themſelves as of all ſtateſmen the moſt unfortunate in being ſo ſoon compelled, not merely to relinquiſh their object, but to act upon a principle diametrically oppoſite to the grand and primary purpoſe of their own ſyſtem of policy.

But of all the naval expeditions of the preſent ſummer, by far the moſt memorable was that which was attempted by the Engliſh government in aid of the inhabitants of La Vendée and La Loire. In order to exhibit a clear and connected view of this moſt diſaſtrous enterpriſe, it will be requiſite to take a general retroſpect of the interior and domeſtic concerns of France. At the commencement of the

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year 1795, the rebellion in the ancient provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Brittany, inhabited chiefly by a barbarous, ignorant, and bigoted race, blindly attached to their prieſts, as barbarous and as ignorant as themſelves, ſeemed, in conſequence of the lenient meaſures adopted by the new government, nearly and happily ſuppreſſed. On the 3d of March a formal treaty was ſigned by general Cancleaux with the chiefs of the Vendéans and Chouans, ſo named from their nocturnal depredations, who made their public entry into the city of Nantz, Charette himſelf being at the head of the proceſſion, accompanied by the Conventional repreſentatives—the people ceaſing not to exclaim, " Vive la paix! Vive l'union!" It was however remarked, that Charette and his companions in arms appeared ſilent and melancholy, as if they already repented their engagements of ſubmiſſion to the republic.

Although the different parties into which the Convention was divided had coaleſced, in order to effect the overthrow of the infamous Robeſpierre, no ſooner had the common danger ſubſided, than the ancient and rooted animoſity of the oppoſing factions began once more to diſplay itſelf; and a violent ſtruggle ſoon ſucceeded between thoſe who, having acted with Robeſpierre, wiſhed rather to mitigate than to aboliſh the atrocities of the revolutionary government—and thoſe who were deſirous not merely to eſtabliſh a regular conſtitution, but to bring thoſe perſons to puniſhment whom they regarded as the aiders and abettors of the Robeſpierrian tyranny. Since the reſtoration of the remaining repreſentatives of the Gironde party, and the freedom of debate, the latter deſcription of members had obtained a decided authority in the Convention. On the 27th of December, 1794, Merlin of Douay, reported from the united committees, that there was ground for examining into the conduct of Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, and Vadier. A decree, inſtituting the propoſed enquiry, immediately paſſed, and a commiſſion of twenty-

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one members was appointed to report upon the facts imputed in the denunciations. Certainly it may well admit of a doubt, conſidering all circumſtances, whether this procedure of the prevailing party in the Convention was the reſult of a pure and enlightened patriotiſm, or whether it was ſuggeſted in whole, or in part, by the baſe and criminal motives of perſonal hatred and revenge. The characters of ſome of the preſent Conventional leaders,—of Merlin, the author of the late report for inſtance—or of Tallien, the Mark Antony, as he has been ſtyled, of the revolution, a man immerſed in diſſipation and pleaſure,—did not, it muſt be acknowledged, countenance the opinion of any heroic exertion of virtue. The accuſation of Barrére was very unpopular. That extraordinary man had been known on various occaſions to employ his influence in alleviating the horrors of that mercileſs tyranny of which he was on other occaſions the too well-known and active inſtrument. He had alſo the merit of joining, when the ſucceſs was as yet very doubtful, the combination formed againſt the monſter Robeſpierre; but, above all, the wonderfully energetic ſpeech by which he encouraged and incited the people of France to riſe as one man, and expel the hirelings of deſpots from the territories of the republic, reſounded ſtill in the ears of every genuine friend of liberty. The criminal violence of that committee of which he had been a member was abſorbed in the recollection of the victories gained under its auſpices; and now that ſo many ſacrifices had been made to the majeſty of offended juſtice, the public ſeemed willing that the errors and even the delinquencies of men placed in ſtations ſo perilous, and charged with the ſafety of their country, contending for its exiſtence againſt a confederacy ſo potent and profligate, ſhould, for the ſake of their political merits, be for ever buried in oblivion.

On the 2d of March (1795), the report from the Committee of Twenty-one was made by M. Saladin, who declared that the accuſed had exerciſed a deſpotic influence

over

over the national repreſentation, and that their guilt was manifeſt. The trial of the deputies was then fixed for the 22d of March, before which Vadier found means to eſcape in the diſguiſe of a courier. A moſt able defence in behalf of the accuſed was made, not by themſelves merely, but by Lindet and Carnot, two members of the ſame Committee of Safety, but who were exempted from the decree of accuſation. They inſiſted with one voice, that, during the tyranny of Robeſpierre, they had all acted under compulſion, and that the individual who had dared to oppoſe the uſurper muſt have been inevitably ſacrificed. In the mean time, extreme diſſatisfaction, fomented by the Jacobin party, was apparent amongſt the lower claſſes of the Pariſians, and, on the 1ſt of April, an immenſe and deſperate multitude proceeded to the hall of the Convention, exclaiming, that they were the ſame men who had ſtood forward on behalf of the nation on the 14th of July, the 10th of Auguſt, and the 31ſt of May. They ſaid they were reſolved to be free, and that the accuſed patriots ſhould not be ſacrificed to the paſſions of the other party. For ſeveral ſucceſſive hours the Convention remained impriſoned in the hall where they held their ſeſſion, and were obliged to hear and to endure the inſults and menaces of theſe lawleſs ruffians. But the reign of Jacobiniſm was ſhort: the citizens aſſembled in arms at the ſound of the tocſin, and marched in great force before evening towards the hall, ſurrounding it on all ſides for the protection of the National Convention. A decree was paſſed to puniſh the agitators of theſe diſorders, and Dumont obſerved, "that all theſe tumults were excited only to prevent the trials of the three great criminals. Let us," ſaid he, "aboliſh the pain of death, but caſt out theſe monſters from our ſociety." It was accordingly decreed, that Barrère, Collot, and Billaud Varennes, ſhould be tranſported to Guiana, and that they ſhould be ſent thither immediately. General Pichegru being at this time in Paris, was appointed by the Convention

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tion to the command of the armed force of that great city. By his authority and exertions tranquillity was ſoon reſtored, and the occaſion embraced to arreſt divers other leaders of the Mountain or Jacobin faction, who were ſent to the caſtle of Ham in Picardy, amongſt whom were Choudieu and Duhem; and the liſt of the proſcribed was afterwards increaſed by a large addition of names—Thuriot, Levaſſeur, and Cambon, being of the number.

Though the conduct of the Convention might upon the whole ſeem praiſe-worthy, it could not be concealed that they puniſhed the abuſes of arbitrary power upon arbitrary principles, uniting in themſelves the diſcordant characters of accuſers, witneſſes, and judges; and the eſtabliſhment of a regular conſtitution of government became more and more the anxious object of the general wiſh. Before the end of April, a committee of eleven was nominated for the important purpoſe of organizing a conſtitutional code for the conſideration of the Conventional Aſſembly, conſiſting of Thibeaudeau, Lepaux, Languinais, Boiſſy D'Anglas, Louvet, Daunon, and five others of leſs note.

The trial of the infamous Fouquier Tinville, the public accuſer, and the ex-judges and jurors of the late Revolutionary Tribunal, was, from various cauſes, deferred till the 8th of May of the preſent year. The greateſt crimes and atrocities being clearly proved againſt this abominable court of judicature, amounting to an actual and complete ſubverſion of all public juſtice, and to the ſubſtitution in its room of a ſyſtem of judicial aſſaſſination,—the wretch Fouquier, and fifteen others, who occupied the ſtations either of judges or jurors of this deteſtable tribunal, were executed the following morning, amidſt the execrations of the people.

At this period the Convention concluded (May 15), not only a definitive treaty of peace, but of alliance offenſive and defenſive, with the Dutch republic, whoſe territories, conſidered as thoſe of a vanquiſhed foe, had been treated by

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by the French with remarkable lenity and moderation. Indeed, the Convention had from the firſt diſtinguiſhed between the ſtadtholder and the people of the Seven United Provinces; regarding the latter as enemies only ſo far as they entered into the views and meaſures of the former, which it was notorious that a vaſt majority of them diſapproved and deteſted. The articles of the treaty were upon the whole very equitable and even generous; but equity and generoſity proved eventually, in this caſe, as in moſt others, the beſt policy. The Convention acknowledged and guarantied the independence of the republic, and alſo the abolition of the ſtadtholderate; and they agreed to make no peace with any country in which Holland ſhould not be included. All the arſenals and magazines were reſtored; and, as the operations of the war were for the future to be carried on in concert, the Dutch government was even allowed the privilege of ſending a deputy who ſhould ſit and have a deliberative voice in the Committee of Public Welfare at Paris. All the Dutch territories were reſtored without reſerve, excepting that part of Dutch Flanders which lies to the ſouth of the Maeſe—Maeſtricht, Venlo, and their dependencies. And, at the epoch of a general peace, ceſſion ſhall be made to the United Provinces, of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the ceſſions made on their part, and in the ſituation moſt convenient to the republic.

The exiled deputies of the Jacobin faction had embarked on board different veſſels, in order to proceed on their voyage to Guiana; but Cambon and Thuriot having, unfortunately for the country, effected their eſcape, found means to excite, upon their ſecret arrival in Paris, another and more dangerous inſurrection than the former; previous to which, ſeditious placards were poſted up in various parts of the city, where a ſcarcity approaching to famine at this time prevailed, prefaced with the alarming and paradoxical principle, "that inſurrection is the moſt ſacred duty of the people."

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people." Early on the 20th of May, the *tocsin* was sounded in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and the *générale* beaten. On the meeting of the Convention, a decree passed, ordering all the citizens to their respective sections, outlawing every person who should head the insurgents, and declaring the sitting permanent. But, in defiance of these injunctions, a vast multitude surrounded, as before, the hall of the Convention, which was ordered to be cleared, and the gendarmes were summoned to protect the persons of the deputies, and a severe conflict took place between the soldiery and the insurgents. Loud cries were heard in the environs of the hall, clamoring for bread and the constitution of 1793. At length, general Hoche was appointed to the command of the whole armed force of Paris, but the disorders in the hall of sitting still continued; and, in the midst of the tumult, one of the national representatives, Ferrand, was killed by repeated strokes of a sabre, in one of the corridores, his head being afterwards severed from the body, and brought into the hall of the Convention upon a pike. Boissy D'Anglas, the president, remained firm and immoveable during this scene of violence and uproar—the Convention resembling more a camp of armed men than an assembly of legislators. But a great number of the members of the Gironde having gradually left the hall, the Mountain or Jacobin party, finding themselves the majority, took advantage of this moment of consternation and terror to repeal several decrees which had been at different times levelled against them, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace. This usurped authority was of short duration—the military, accompanied by a great number of citizens in arms, making their appearance in great force, on which the multitude made their escape through doors and windows with great precipitation. The pretended decrees of repeal were then, on the motion of Bourdon de l'Oise, themselves repealed, or rather annulled, and several of the

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the Jacobin members concerned in the tranſaction put under arreſt.

Theſe ſhocking diſorders, though ſuppreſſed, were not extinguiſhed; for, on the next day, the Convention was again ſurrounded by the populace in the like manner; and cannon being planted in the Place of the Carouſel, a deputation was reluctantly admitted from the inſurgents. To the demands of this deputation the preſident was compelled to return a favorable anſwer, and to the ſubſequent diſgrace of giving the fraternal embrace to the members of it, who were alſo invited to the honors of the ſitting. On the third day, the Convention, amidſt apprehenſions and alarms, reſumed the exerciſe of their functions. But, on the fourth, the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs were once more preparing to attack the hall of the Convention, when the citizens of Paris again roſe in defence of the national repreſentatives, every avenue to the Tuilleries being filled with armed citizens. The Conventional Aſſembly, thus ſupported, took courage, and declared the fauxbourg St. Antoine in a ſtate of rebellion, and ordered the ſections of Paris, ſuſtained by the regular military force, to march inſtantly againſt them. The wretched and deluded populace ſeeing themſelves inveſted on every ſide, and expoſed to an immediate cannonade or bombardment, at length ſurrendered at diſcretion. A decree of the Convention then paſſed for diſarming the Jacobins; the uſe of pikes was aboliſhed, and the cannon of the ſeveral ſections delivered up by order of the Convention. Several arreſts and executions of the leaders of this dangerous inſurrection followed immediately the final ſuppreſſion of it; order was every where reſtored, and the flaming Mountain was once more overthrown. Its famous chiefs, Collot D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrère, were remanded back to take their trial; but the two former had already failed, and Barrère only remained, who was committed to cloſe impriſonment. The inſurrection of the Jacobins in Paris depended

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depended upon, and was concerted with, various others in the different departments. At Lyons, at Toulon, and Marſeilles, that furious faction made efforts, with all the violence of deſpair, to repoſſeſs themſelves of the power they had ſo infamouſly abuſed, and ſo deſervedly loſt; but they were without much difficulty defeated. At Lyons, the re-action was terrible—the chief agents and inſtruments of Collot D'Herbois having been maſſacred in priſon; and, in other towns, vengeance had taken place of law, though not perhaps of juſtice.

During theſe commotions in Paris and the ſouthern provinces, the chiefs of the revolters in the departments of La Vendée and La Loire, ſo recently reconciled to the French government, again manifeſted a diſpoſition to reſume their arms, which they had with extreme reluctance conſented ever to lay down. It is however probable that their ſubmiſſion, though involuntary, was ſincere in the firſt inſtance, and that they were ſtimulated by the intrigues of the emigrants reſident in England, and by the magnificient promiſes of the court of London, which, engaging to ſecond their renewed efforts by a powerful deſcent upon the French coaſt, covered by a grand naval armament, fatally deluded theſe devoted victims of an intereſted and foreign ambition to their utter and remedileſs ruin. The vigilance of the deputies on miſſion in La Vendée, in the month of May, detected the correſpondence which theſe perſons carried on with the emigrants in England, and through them with the Engliſh miniſtry; and Comartin, with ſix other chiefs, were arreſted on the evidence of intercepted letters. At the latter end of the ſame month, the Chouans began to embody in conſiderable force; and, while the royaliſts were forming arrangements in the interior of France, preparations were making in England for an invaſion on the coaſt of Brittany, in which a very large body of the emigrants was to be employed. The perſon appointed to the command of this expedition was a M. Puiſaye,

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ſaye, a man who had been very unſteady in his political attachments, and whoſe character ſtood impeached at the ſame time for want of courage and want of honeſty. The ſecond in command was M. D'Hervilly, an officer formerly in high rank in the French king's gardes-du-corps, and equally ſo in military reputation and general eſteem. It was well underſtood that this romantic expedition, planned by M. Puiſaye, in concert with the Engliſh cabinet, was by no means approved by M. D'Hervilly, who deemed nevertheleſs his honor engaged to embark himſelf and his fortunes in this wild attempt. The count de Sombreuil alſo, a young man of uncommon talents, and of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, was ſolicited by miniſters, and conſented, not without great reluctance, to take a part in this Quixotic enterpriſe.

In the beginning of June the advanced guard of the army, conſiſting of between 4 and 5,000 men, chiefly emigrants, were embarked in tranſports, under the convoy of a ſquadron commanded by ſir John Borlaſe Warren. Previous to their departure, many thouſand copies of a paſtoral letter, written by the biſhop of Dol, who alſo ſailed in the fleet, were diſperſed throughout the diſaffected departments. It was printed in London; and amongſt many aſſertions equally abhorrent from good ſenſe and rational policy were to be found in it the following marked expreſſions—"Que la même que DIEU eſt independant par lieu même et par ſa nature, de même auſſi le ROI eſt independant a l'égard de ſes ſujets, et ſous les ordres de DIEU qui ſeul peut lui démander compte de l'uſage qu'il fait de ſon autorité." After being ſixteen days at ſea, the fleet anchored between the Iſle Dieu and that of Noirmoutier. The army of Charette was then very near; but it did not ſuit the views of M. Puiſaye to join that chieftain, under whom he muſt have acted a comparatively inſignificant part. On the 25th of June the fleet anchored in Quiberon-Bay. M. D'Hervilly went on ſhore by himſelf, and had ſome converſation with

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with the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Carnac; after which he determined that it would not be for the advantage of the ſervice to make the deſcent in this place. But being over-ruled by the united opinions of ſir John Warren and M. Puiſaye, on the evening of the 26th the boats were manned, and at break of day the troops made good their landing near the village. Two or three hundred republican militia, aſſembled on the beach, at firſt made a ſhew of reſiſtance, but they were eaſily routed, and fled towards Aurai—great demonſtrations of joy being made for this ſucceſs in the village and its vicinity. Large bodies of men, habited like peaſants, came from different parts to ſee the army, pretending to partake in this premature triumph. To theſe perſons the moſt profuſe diſtribution of arms, of ammunition, and other neceſſaries, was made, without any certificate of loyalty, or drawing any line of diſcrimination. In this way 28,000 muſquets were ſaid to be given, or rather thrown away, and other articles to an incredible amount.

The emigrant army was ſoon diſtributed into quarters of cantonment on ſhore, where they continued till the 2d of July. In this interval they were joined by ſome thouſands of Chouans, who could not be reſtrained within any rules of diſcipline, and whoſe mode of warfare was wholly deſultory and capricious. They attacked only by ſurpriſe, and diſperſed whenever they were themſelves aſſaulted by the regular troops, however great the diſparity in number. After much altercation between Puiſaye and D'Hervilly, it was at length determined to attack the fort of Quiberon, garriſoned by 600 republican troops, which ſurrendered with ſlight reſiſtance; after which a reſolution was taken to remove the army within the peninſula and fort, ſtill retaining Carnac as an advanced poſt. This was, however, immediately forced by the republican troops, now collecting in great numbers, under the command of general Hoche, and the Anglo-emigrant army was ſhut up in the peninſula

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of Quiberon. From this period to the 15th the republicans were employed in conſtructing the moſt formidable works on the heights of St. Barbe, and every conſiderate perſon in the Engliſh army, now conſiſting of 12,000 men of all deſcriptions, was convinced of the neceſſity of a retreat. On the contrary, however, the remaining proviſions and ſtores were landed from the tranſports upon the peninſula, as if it were a ſtation perfectly tenable. On the night of the 15th a *ſortie* was determined upon, and a detachment, conſiſting of near half the troops fit for ſervice, marched to attack the entrenchments of St. Barbe. The republican troops were well prepared to receive them. After a feint of reſiſtance they fell back to their entrenched camp, purſued by the Engliſh and emigrant troops in confidence of victory: but on a ſudden a maſked battery of grape-ſhot was opened upon them, which did inconceivable execution. Almoſt in a moment the whole army of the aſſailants was thrown into confuſion, which in a very ſhort time was converted into an abſolute flight; and had not the fire from the Britiſh ſhipping ſtopped the progreſs of the republican columns, ſcarcely a man would have eſcaped. In this diſaſtrous affair M. D'Hervilly was ſeverely wounded, and from this time deſpair ſeized upon the minds of all. The emigrant regiments being recruited from the French priſons in England, great numbers had entered merely with the view of regaining their native country; and the deſertions, which were from the firſt exceedingly prevalent, now increaſed to ſuch a degree, that a ſingle regiment, between the 15th and 20th of July, loſt nearly 150 men.

During theſe tranſactions M. de Puiſaye ſeemed to attend merely to his perſonal gratifications, living in all the ſtate and luxury that his ſituation, as commander, admitted of; and as he was from the firſt the contempt, he now became the deteſtation of the army, who, ſince the misfortune of M. D'Hervilly, had fixed their eyes upon the young and gallant Sombreuil as the only man in whom they

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they could place their confidence. On the night of the 20th a dreadful ſtorm blew from the weſt, accompanied with a deluge of rain; and the men who occupied the advanced poſts were employed in ſeeking ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather, rather than in guarding againſt the approach of an enemy. In the mean time the republicans, conducted by a number of intelligent deſerters, paſſing along the low and level ſhore of the peninſula, climbed the rocks without being diſcovered, and attacked the fort before there aroſe the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger. M. Puiſaye, on the firſt alarm, after directing M. Sombreuil, as that brave and unfortunate officer himſelf tells us, *to wait his orders*, took the ſingularly prudent precaution of haſting on board a ſhip which he ſecured for his retreat, abandoning his followers to their fate. Great numbers of the emigrants, amongſt whom was the regiment of D'Hervilly, grounded their arms, and exclaimed "*Vive la République!*" The reſt, animated by the example of the young Sombreuil, maintained an unequal and dreadful conflict. The Emigrants, Engliſh, and Chouans, in the fort exceeded 10,000 ſtrong, a vaſt majority of whom were either killed or taken priſoners; although the number of the aſſailants is ſtated at no more than 3,000 men. A few individuals paſſed in open boats, through a tempeſtuous ſea, to the Engliſh ſquadron lying off the bay.

Amongſt the wretched captives who knew the fate which awaited them, were heard many voices pouring out execrations againſt thoſe who had ſent them thither in order to be ſacrificed. The excellent Sombreuil, the bigoted but reſpectable biſhop of Dol, with divers of his clergy who accompanied him, with moſt of the emigrant officers, were tried by a military tribunal, and ſhot; but with regard to the privates great lenity was ſhewn. Ten thouſand ſtand of arms were taken, and magazines and clothing for 40,000 men: ſix ſhips that arrived the evening before the action, laden with rum, brandy, and proviſions, alſo fell

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into the hands of the republicans. Thus ended the visionary project of the British ministry for penetrating to the city of Paris on this side of the country. So long as La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments, were almost universally in arms against the republican government,—so long as their numerous armies, inspired with an heroic and invincible courage, determined to defend what to their darkened and deluded minds appeared to be the cause of GOD and their country,—no attempt was made on the part of the British ministers to succour and relieve them: but, as soon as their cause became utterly hopeless, they were by the most insidious arts inveigled to incur fresh dangers, and to expose themselves to the reproach of having violated their recent and solemn engagements; and thousands of their emigrant countrymen were sent to co-operate with them in this project of insanity and wickedness. The chiefs of the revolters, Charette and Stofflet, carried on for some months after this a desultory and desperate warfare, but were at length completely vanquished, and received the punishment of their demerits,—the former, with his dying breath, venting curses upon the cabinet of England. When we consider coolly, if indeed it were possible coolly to consider, the thousands of lives wantonly, barbarously, and infamously sacrificed in this horrible expedition, what shall the pen of History say of the man who, at this period, guided and directed the counsels of Britain? Could so callous a heart, and so cold an imagination, be awakened to a just sense of its deep and inexpiable guilt, hosts of bloody spectres would haunt his solitude, his ears would be appalled with visionary shrieks, the very air would utter loud laments, and he would be doomed to feel all the tortures of remorse, all the unutterable agonies of despair.*

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* In remarking upon the conduct of the present war, the natural sagacity of Mr. Burke, the flaming and furious advocate of it, and who, in discussing the causes and the objects of it, is almost uniformly the slave of

In the review of the interior ſtate of France, it is neceſſary to mention, that the infant Capet, only ſon of the late king, expired June 9 (1795,) in the priſon of the Temple, where he had been confined ſince the fatal 10th of Auguſt, 1792. His habit was ſickly, and his ill health was no doubt increaſed by the want of proper exerciſe; but it does not appear that he ſuffered under any peculiar harſhneſs of treatment. The princeſs, his ſiſter and companion, was in a ſhort time releaſed, being exchanged with the court of Vienna for the deputies delivered up by the treachery of Dumouriez, and for the two ambaſſadors, Semonville and Maret, who had been baſely ſeized on neutral ground, contrary to the law of nations, and detained priſoners by the Auſtrian government.

The plan of the new conſtitution was preſented by the Committee of Eleven, on the 23d of June, the report being made by Boiſſy D'Anglas. After much diſcuſſion, and various

of prejudice and paſſion, conſpicuouſly diſcovers itſelf. He obſerves truly, "That a vaſt army might have been maintained in La Vendée at a far leſs expenſe than has been thrown away upon tropical adventures. We ſhould have had an ally in the heart of the country, who, at one time, would have added 80,000 men to whatever force we had ſent thither, all animated by principle, by enthuſiaſm, and vengeance,—motives which ſecured them to the cauſe in a very different manner from ſome of thoſe allies whom we ſubſidized with millions. Warring there, we ſhould have led our arms to the capital of wrong; an impregnable rampart would have been formed between the enemy and his naval power. We are probably the only nation who have declined to act againſt an enemy when it might have been done in his own country; and who, having an armed, a powerful, and a long-victorious ally in that country, declined all effectual co-operation, and ſuffered him to periſh for want of ſupport. Had we brought the main of our force to bear upon that quarter, all the operations of the Britiſh and Imperial crowns would have been combined; the war would have had ſyſtem, correſpondence, and a certain direction: but, as the war has been purſued, the operations of the two crowns, have not the ſmalleſt degree of mutual bearing or relation." *Thoughts on a Regicide Peace*, p. 155. ——Fortunately for France, the counſels of this Ahitophel were neglected; for which he would, in the opinion of many, have done well to follow the example of his prototype.

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various alterations, the Conſtitutional Act was, on the 23d of Auguſt, declared complete, and referred to the primary aſſemblies for their approbation and acceptance. The principal features of this conſtitution were theſe:—The legiſlative power was veſted in two councils, choſen through the medium of the electoral aſſemblies; the one conſiſting of 500, the other of 250 members. To the former, ſtyled the Legiſlative Council, belonged the propoſing,—to the latter, ſtyled the Senate or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws; and no perſon could be a member of the ſenate who had not completed his fortieth year—One-third of the members of each council to be rechoſen every year. The executive power was delegated to a DIRECTORY of five members, to be partially renewed by the election of one member in regular rotation. The mode of election was for the Council of Five Hundred to make out, by ſecret ſcrutiny, a liſt of ten perſons, from which the ſenate by ſecret ſcrutiny alſo ſhould ſelect one. The judicial power to reſide in judges of department and diſtrict, choſen by the electoral aſſemblies, and an high tribunal of appeal and *capation*, or annulment, eſtabliſhed by the ſame mode of election for the whole kingdom. This was certainly the outline of a free and noble conſtitution; but the beneficial effect of it was entirely counteracted by one egregious and fatal error. The two councils were virtually rendered permanent, the Directory not being inveſted with the eſſentially neceſſary power of convening and proroguing thoſe formidable bodies agreeably to their diſcretion: and as the miniſters of the executive government were, by another error of great though ſecondary magnitude, not admitted to ſeats in the legiſlative aſſemblies, an oppoſition of intereſts was inſtantly and inevitably created. The councils were irreſiſtibly tempted to encroach upon the functions of the executive power; and in effect two diſtinct governments were eſtabliſhed by the ſame act. To this may be added, that the executive authority was much weakened

by being committed to five perſons, between whom differences and diviſions might be expected to ariſe, inſtead of a ſingle individual, under whatever name.

On the 5th Fructidor (Auguſt 22), previous to the tranſmiſſion of the Conſtitutional Act to the primary aſſemblies, the Convention decreed that the elective bodies ſhould, in appointing the deputies to the legiſlative body, chooſe two-thirds from amongſt the members of the preſent Convention; and by another decree it was enacted, that, in default of ſuch election, the Convention ſhould fill up the vacancies themſelves. Theſe decrees formed a curious contraſt to that famous ſelf-denying ordinance of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, which prohibited the re-election of *any* of its members. The preſent Convention were probably impreſſed very ſtrongly with the recollection of the ill effects reſulting from that romantic though noble act of diſintereſtedneſs, and wandered into the oppoſite and leſs pardonable extreme. The decrees now paſt were obviouſly liable to the imputation of ambition and ſelfiſhneſs; but they were unqueſtionably deemed by many politically expedient, from the predominance of Jacobiniſm in various parts of the country, and from the apprehenſion that, in conſequence of the well-known activity and addreſs of that fallen though ſtill formidable party in popular elections, a majority of the Jacobine or Mountain faction would be returned members of the new legiſlature. It would, however, as the event proved, have been better and wiſer to have acted upon the broad and ſimple principles of univerſal liberty; for the Jacobins availed themſelves with ſuch dexterity of the diſcontent occaſioned by this unexpected and unconſtitutional reſtraint upon the public freedom of choice, that the whole nation was thrown into a ſtate of confuſion ſcarcely ſhort of a temporary anarchy. The forty-eight ſections of Paris, who had uſually given the tone to the nation at large, while they unanimouſly accepted the Conſtitutional Act, as firmly rejected the

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the law for the re-election of the two-thirds. In the majority of primary assemblies throughout the country, the decrees of the Assembly, having been transmitted to the departments with the Constitutional Act, were, in conjunction with the act, accepted and confirmed, notwithstanding the violence of the opposing party. But the sections of Paris, who had so often, in their outrageous proceedings, set all law and all government at defiance, after some insolent and unavailing applications to the Convention to rescind the obnoxious decrees, proclaimed openly that means more forcible than mere remonstrances were necessary to bring the Convention to reason, and that they ought to be driven from their seats with ignominy. Several of the sections had already proceeded to open and daring acts of hostility. On the 12th Vendemaire (October 4), general Menou, commander of the military force of Paris, was sent to the chief place of their assembly, to disarm and disperse the insurgents: but this officer executed his commission so little to the satisfaction of the Convention, that he was severely reprehended, and Barras appointed in his room. In the dead of night the cry was heard—To Arms! To Arms! Liberty or Death! and at the early dawn of day, the sections having drawn out their forces, intending to march them, as usual, to the hall of the Convention, a regular and bloody battle took place; and the different avenues of the Tuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made amongst the insurgents, who repeatedly rallied, and returned to the charge with incredible obstinacy; but, being overpowered, they were, at the close of the day, and not till then, driven by the Conventional troops from all their posts, with the loss, as some accounts state, of five hundred, and others of no less than two thousand, men.

The extreme violence of the opposition to the decrees of the Convention undoubtedly arose from the temporary junction, on this, as on other occasions, of the royalist and Jacobine parties, aided by many well-meaning but mistaken

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perſons, indignant at the flagrant violation of thoſe abſtract principles of liberty, which they attended to much more than their practical conſequences, being thus in perpetual danger of ſacrificing the end to the means. General principles of liberty are valuable only becauſe they are generally beneficial: neceſſity may enforce, and then it will juſtify, a deviation, in particular caſes, from thoſe general principles;—if real, it is the plea of the patriot; if pretended, of the tyrant. Although the neceſſity of the decrees of Fructidor might previouſly be regarded as doubtful, yet, when once paſſed, all reſiſtance to them by force was in the higheſt degree unjuſtifiable. Theſe decrees might be productive of great national utility, in preventing the political evils too likely to reſult from a ſudden tranſition of power; and no real danger to the ſtate could, with any ſhadow of reaſon, be apprehended from them, when it was conſidered that one-third of the members of the Convention were to vacate their ſeats immediately, and another third at the expiration of one year after the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution; and that the Convention, as now conſtituted, had governed France with glory and ſucceſs ſince the period of the fall of the tyrant Robeſpierre.* The inſurrection was confined to Paris, for ſome of the neighbouring communes were diſarmed as they were on their march to join the ſections. The Convention, now triumphant, declared that the majority of votes in the departments were in favor of the laws of Fructidor.

Alarmed, notwithſtanding, at the ſpirit and ſtrength of the oppoſition they had juſt overcome, many of the members

* It was affirmed at the time, in divers of the Paris journals connected with the government, particularly in that of Louvet, "that the cabinet of St. James's was deeply concerned in theſe inſurrections, and that Mr. Pitt himſelf was the chief conſpirator."—The declaration of the younger Jenkinſon in the houſe of commons, April 10, 1794, uncontradicted by Mr. Pitt, gives at leaſt ſome color and countenance to this charge. "It is," ſaid Mr. Jenkinſon, "the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to aſſiſt *every party* in France that ſhould ariſe to overturn the preſent government, if it deſerves the name."

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bers seemed well inclined to postpone the establishment of the new constitution, and to continue for a certain time the revolutionary system. Some were even suspected of an intention to revive the reign of terror; and a committee of five members, M. Tallien being of the number, was actually appointed to consult on what measures should be adopted to *save the country*; but the consternation of the Assembly gradually subsided, and the patriotic boldness of a single individual had a great and happy effect: Thibeaudeau, the member alluded to, in an indignant speech, with energy protested that he would perish rather than survive the new tyranny which was preparing for his country. He demanded that the new commission should be immediately broken, and that the constitution should be the law of the land on the day appointed. This declaration, seconded by Lepaux, roused the Convention to a just sense of what they owed to their fame and to their duty: the report of the commission for the permanence of the Assembly was rejected, and the commission itself annulled.

This Assembly terminated its sittings very nobly; for the last decrees which it passed were for the abolition of the punishment of death at the return of peace, and for granting a general amnesty, though limited perhaps by too many exceptions: and on the 27th of October (1795), the day appointed by law, the president declared that "the NATIONAL CONVENTION was DISSOLVED." Such was the extraordinary merits of an assembly, whose merits and demerits, whose glorious acts and whose criminal excesses, will long be the theme of history. With a daring hand she signed the death-warrant of the successor of a hundred kings, and broke the sceptre which the superstition of fourteen centuries had consecrated. Standing greatly alone against a confederacy of crowned despots, she brought her armed myriads into the field, and compelled her enemies to flee with shame and confusion from the land which they had, in their vain and foolish imaginations, already conquered,

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and of which they were eager to divide the ſpoils. But the magnanimity of this aſſembly was ſullied by licentiouſneſs and contaminated by cruelty: their actions will excite the admiration of every age; and a diſtant poſterity will perhaps pardon, while it deplores, their frailties and their faults.

On the meeting of the new legiſlature, the firſt object was to elect the five members of the executive directory; and ſuch was the impreſſion made by the violent and lawleſs proceedings, that the majority of the two counſels were unfortunately diſpoſed to elect "ardent ſpirits," more diſtinguiſhed by their courage and vigor than their wiſdom and moderation, and who had formerly been accounted of, or inclined to, the Mountain party, though adverſe to the tyranny of Robeſpierre, and friendly to the eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution. The higheſt upon the liſt was however Reveillière Lepaux, of the profeſſion of the law, one of the Gironde deputies proſcribed in conſequence of the revolution of the 31ſt of May, 1793. The next was Reubel, alſo of the law, who had lately been employed in negotiating the treaty with Holland. Letourneur de la Manche was the third: he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a man of ability; his character was fair; and he had, previous to the revolution, acted as an officer of engineers. The fourth was Barras, formerly a viſcount, and bred up from early life in the military ſervice: he had the recent merit of ſuppreſſing the late dangerous inſurrection; and, in the preceding year, had alſo conducted with ſucceſs the Conventional arms againſt the late deſperate efforts of the Robeſpierrian faction. The laſt upon the liſt was the celebrated Carnot, miniſter of war: he had been of the infamous Committee of Safety, during the reign of terror; but he had entirely confined his attention to the buſineſs of his peculiar department, which he had conducted with ſuch ſplendid ſucceſs, that it was ſaid of him, almoſt without a figure, "that he had organized Victory, and rendered her permanent."

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permanent."—Carnot was choſen upon a ſecond ballad; the profound and philoſophic Sieyes, who was firſt nominated, with his characteriſtic caution, declining to take upon him the office. Next to Mirabeau, Sieyes was, by the moſt diſcerning judges, accounted the greateſt and rareſt genius which the revolution had *as yet* produced: he ſaw the radical defects of the new conſtitution too clearly to be willingly concerned in the execution of it, and reſerved himſelf for more favorable and fortunate times. The palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the reſidence of the executive power, and henceforth took the name of the Directorial Palace.

The miſcellaneous occurrences of the preſent year, in relation to England, ſtill remain to be narrated. On the 19th of November, 1794, a treaty of amity and commerce was ſigned by Mr. Jay and lord Grenville between the crown of Great Britain and the United States of America. This treaty, containing twenty-eight articles, was framed with remarkable caution, accuracy, and ability; and on the part of England, at leaſt, it was a very ſalutary and laudable meaſure: but it eſtabliſhed certain proviſions ſo injurious to France, that it may juſtly be doubted, whether, on the part of America, the meaſure was either juſt, conſidering the treaty of alliance ſubſiſting with that nation, and faithfully obſerved by it,—or politic, looking forward to the effects of reſentment it was calculated to excite. The French, whoſe commerce with the Weſt Indies had been, ſince the commencement of the war, carried on chiefly through the medium of American veſſels, ſaw with indignation the frequent ſeizures of their property by the Engliſh cruizers, in violation of the fundamental principle upon which the famous armed neutrality, during the laſt war, was founded, viz. that neutral bottoms make neutral goods. This principle had been recogniſed by France in her treaties of commerce, amity, and alliance, with America; and they now juſtified their occaſional deviations from

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it only by the neceſſity of following the example ſet by the Engliſh, who were upon the whole, as being maſters of the ſea, much more profited by the breach than the obſervance of this liberal and equitable maxim. Hitherto, however, America had avowed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, her adherence to the grand principle of the armed neutrality; proteſting againſt, and, as far as ſhe was able, reſiſting the violation of it by either of the belligerent powers. But by the 12th, 17th, and 18th articles of the treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, the States of America conceded, if not the right, at leaſt the exerciſe of the right, claimed by Great Britain during the war, and for two years after;—coldly in reſpect to France, and complaiſantly with regard to England, declaring, "that at the expiration of this term the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this reſpect according to the ſituation in which his majeſty the king of Great Britain may then find himſelf with reſpect to the Weſt Indies;" and, till the arrival of this uncertain period, even proviſions are declared liable to ſeizure, on paying the value of the articles, with the additional expence of demurrage.

In return for this great conceſſion, the court of London was profuſe in her favors and acknowledgments. By the ſecond article ſhe agreed to evacuate all the forts within the boundary-line aſſigned to the United States by the treaty of 1783. By the twelfth, the Americans were allowed to trade to the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands in their own veſſels, not exceeding ſeventy tons burden; and the thirteenth admitted them to a free participation of the Britiſh commerce in the Eaſt Indies. It was indeed by a mockery of friendſhip to France declared in the twenty-fifth article, that nothing in this treaty ſhall be conſtrued contrary to former and exiſting public treaties with other ſovereigns or ſtates; but as the ſpirit of this treaty was obviouſly and altogether in favor of the Engliſh, this affected adherence to the letter of the treaty with France was calculated only to add contempt

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tempt to their reſentment. The forts given up by Great Britain to America, by the ſecond article of the treaty now concluded, were Niagara, Oſwego, Detroit, Michillimakinac, and Miami, conſtructed in 1793; all of great importance for the command of the lakes, or reſtraining the inroads of the northern tribes of Indians. When the treaty reached America, it excited great aſtoniſhment, and no leſs contention. It was conſidered, by a great and reſpectable part of the continent, as an entire derelection of amity with France, and as amounting to little leſs than a virtual declaration of war againſt her; laying unavoidably the foundation of great political animoſity in America, by dividing the people of the United States into two great and hoſtile factions, one attached to the Gallic, and the other to the Anglican intereſt. When it was ſubmitted by the preſident, agreeably to the forms of the conſtitution, to the ſenate, for their approbation, vehement debates took place; and at length, tempted no doubt by the reciprocal conceſſions and advantages offered by England, the ratification of it was voted by a ſmall majority. It has been upon high authority aſſerted, "that the preſident, general Waſhington, on perceiving the treaty to be ſo little conformable to the inſtructions given to Mr. Jay, and ſo little conſiſtent with what he deemed to be the intereſts of the United States, was long before he could prevail upon himſelf to preſent it to the ſenate for their ſanction."* When that ſanction was given, however, he did not think it expedient or proper to withhold his own; and the treaty was, in the end, formally ratified.

In the month of February, 1795, a treaty of defenſive alliance was concluded with the imperial crown of Ruſſia, containing ſome extraordinary ſtipulations, apparently not very beneficial to the intereſts of Great Britain. By the fourth and principal article of this treaty, if the king of Great Britain is attacked or diſturbed by any other power, her imperial

* Travels of the Duc de Liancourt in North America.

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perial majeſty ſhall immediately ſend to his aſſiſtance ten thouſand infantry and two thouſand horſe. On the other hand, if Ruſſia is attacked by any European power, *even in Aſia*, Great Britain ſhall immediately ſend to her aſſiſtance a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of the line, which ſhall remain in the Baltic from the beginning of May to the commencement of the month of October. The idea of ſending a fleet to the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia in the Baltic, in caſe the Turks or Tartars ſhould invade her immenſely-remote provinces bordering upon the Euxine or the Caſpian, is ſo extravagant, that the real meaning of the empreſs, probably, was merely to take advantage of the preſence of an Engliſh ſquadron in the north, in order to improve her own marine by imitating the example, and habituating the Ruſſians to the practice of the ſkilful manœuvres, of the Engliſh ſhips and ſeamen.

It muſt not be omitted, that a ſeſſion of parliament was held in the month of February at Corte, the ancient capital of Corſica, by ſir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy of that newly-acquired kingdom. His excellency communicated to them his majeſty's gracious intentions to take upon himſelf the whole charges of their military eſtabliſhment; and alſo declared, that they would have the benefit of a great naval force, without any expenſe. By his majeſty's taking upon *himſelf* the charges and expenſe of the Corſican eſtabliſhment, the viceroy doubtleſs meant no more than that his majeſty would pledge himſelf for his faithful commons at Weſtminſter: though, by the Conſtitutional Act, the iſland of Corſica was no more under ſubjection to Great Britain, *i. e.* to the Britiſh legiſlature, than to the Great Mogul. The viceroy, therefore, had reaſon on his ſide when he exhorted this aſſembly "to reflect on the advantages which they enjoyed, and which he truly obſerved were the excluſive privileges of the Corſican nation:"—there being certainly no other example in hiſtory of any government taking upon itſelf to defray the expenſes of another government,

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government, which asserted, and was in actual possession of, the most perfect independency. His excellency also, with true Catholic devotion, informed the legislative body, "that a settlement of their religious establishment had been reserved for them, in concert with his holiness the Pope." At the close of this gracious speech, his excellency piously prayed, "that God would so bless and enlighten their counsels, as to render this first parliament of Corsica an example to all succeeding ones"—A petition lost in empty air long before it reached the pen of the recording angel.

Early in the present year (1795), lord Amherst retiring full of years and honors from public life, his royal highness the duke of York was appointed commander-in-chief and field-marshal-general of the forces of Great Britain. The duke of Richmond was removed from his post of master of the ordnance, in which he was succeeded by earl, recently created marquis, Cornwallis; and sir William Howe was nominated, in the place of the latter nobleman, governor and lieutenant of the Tower of London.

About the same time a petition was presented to the house of commons from the city of London, in common-hall assembled, deploring in strong terms the disastrous effects of the present war. "Your petitioners conceive," say they, "that none of the ends proposed by the present war either have been, or appear likely to be, obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expense to this country. Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly but firmly to express to this honorable house their decided conviction that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that this honourable house, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures as they in their wisdom shall think proper for the purpose of promoting

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moting a ſpeedy peace."—The cities of York, Norwich, and ſome others, followed the example of London; but theſe petitions were not ſufficiently general to produce any very ſenſible effect; and counter-petitions were obtained by the partizans of miniſtry, in which a confident reliance was expreſſed on the *wiſdom* of the government to ſet on foot, at the proper period, ſuch negotiations as might lead to the reſtoration of peace.

In the month of July ſome ſerious riots, continuing for ſeveral ſucceſſive days, took place in London, occaſioned by the diſcovery of ſome ſhameful practices which had been long prevalent, but which were ſubſequently and effectually reformed by the excellent regulations of the preſent royal commander-in-chief, of inveigling men into his majeſty's ſervice. Emboldened by the little oppoſition they met with, the populace, who had long ſhewn a marked averſion to Mr. Pitt, conceiving, upon no rational ground, that he had authorized or countenanced theſe abuſes, repaired to his houſe in Downing-ſtreet, the windows of which they demoliſhed, and were proceeding to further violence, when they were informed that the affighted miniſter had eſcaped by the park-gate to the Horſe-Guards; and on the arrival of the military they were, not without ſome difficulty, at length diſperſed.

The ridiculous buſineſs of the *Pop-gun Plot*, as it was generally and ludicrouſly ſtyled, was revived in the autumn of this year; and one Croſsfield, a ſurgeon, who had been for ſome time a priſoner in the town of Breſt, was apprehended on ſuſpicion of being concerned in this dark conſpiracy. It appeared, on examination before the privy-council, that this man, whoſe intercourſe with the other plotters, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, was proved by the teſtimony of the infamous informer Upton, had boaſted (probably hoping to ingratiate himſelf with the Jacobins with whom he was ſurrounded, and contrary to truth) that he had been accuſed of being concerned in this affair; and affected to drop ſome myſterious

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myſterious expreſſions relating to it. Croſsfield was upon this ſent, by warrant of the privy-council, to the Tower; and Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, were re-committed, and at length brought to trial; when, upon a full inveſtigation of the evidence on the part of the crown, which amounted to nothing more than ſome abſurd and contradictory hearſays, the priſoners were acquitted by verdicts which gave univerſal ſatisfaction. It is probable, or at leaſt poſſible, that ſome fooliſh and flighty diſcourſe had paſſed amongſt them as to the practicability of ſucceeding in ſuch a romantic and criminal attempt.

Great apprehenſions had been excited in the courſe of the year by divers aſſemblages of the populace, convened, very improperly, if not illegally, by the Correſponding Society, which ſtill regularly continued its meetings. The moſt remarkable of theſe was on the 26th of October, in a field near Copenhagen Houſe, in the vicinity of the village of Pancras. The number here convened did not, as was ſuppoſed, amount to leſs than 40,000 perſons, whoſe conduct, notwithſtanding, upon this occaſion, was decent and orderly. But where multitudes are collected, miſchief may always be reaſonably feared. Some of the orators of the ſociety harangued the populace; and an addreſs and remonſtrance to his majeſty being unanimouſly voted, they diſperſed peaceably to their reſpective homes.

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BOOK XVI.

Session of Parliament, 1795---6. *Insults offered to the King. Debates upon the Address. Treason and Sedition Bills. Prosecution of Mr. Reeves. Mr. Whitbread's Bill to fix the Price of Labor. Extravagant Loan of the Minister. Message from the King announcing the Re-establishment of regular Government in France. Pacific Motion of Mr. Grey. Motion by Mr. Wilberforce for the Repeal of the Slave-Trade. Motion by Mr. Grey for a Committee of Enquiry. Second Loan of Mr. Pitt. Financial Resolutions moved by Mr. Grey. Motion by the Marquis of Lansdown for the Appointment of a Committee of Finance. Address to the King moved by the Earl of Guildford and Mr. Fox. Close of the Session. Military Operations*, 1796. *March of the General Moreau and Jourdain into the Heart of Germany. Defeat of Jourdain. Celebrated Retreat of Moreau. Wonderful Successes of General Buonaparte in Italy. Austrians defeated at Montenotte and at Millesimo. Armistice concluded with the King of Sardinia. Louis* XVIII. *compelled to quit the Venetian Territory. Famous Action at the Bridge of Lodi. French take Possession of Leghorn—likewise of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. The Pope and the King of Naples sue for Peace. Battle of Castiglione. General Wurmser takes Refuge in Mantua. Cispadane Confederacy. Battle of Arcole. General Alvinzi retires beyond the Brenta. Incredible Obstinacy of the Pope. Island of St. Lucia recovered. Capture of a Dutch Squadron at Saldanha-Bay—and of various Dutch Settlements in the East. Evacuation of Corsica by the English. Descent upon Ireland under General Hoche. Differences between France and America. General Washington resigns his Office. Affairs of Holland. Proceedings of the French Government.*

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vernment. Conſpiracy of Floreal. State of the Gallican Church. National Inſtitute eſtabliſhed. Alliance between France and Spain. Injudicious Attempt of the Court of London to negotiate with France. Second Attempt of the Court of London. Lord Malmeſbury nominated Ambaſſador to Paris —Ill Succeſs of his Miſſion. Remarks upon the Conduct of the Negotiation. Death of the Empreſs of Ruſſia—and of the King of Sardinia.

THE ſummer and autumnal months of the year 1795 were rendered unfortunately memorable by a ſcarcity approaching to actual famine, occaſioned in part by an alarming deficiency in the laſt year's crop, in part by the enormous waſte and conſumption of the war, and in part by long-continued and exceſſive rains, which excited great and general apprehenſion reſpecting the future. Happily, however, the weather became favourable at a very critical period for the country, and the harveſt proved abundant beyond expectation. The parliament was ſummoned to meet on the 29th of October; while the price of all the neceſſaries of life were ſtill extravagantly high; and the minds of the lower claſſes of the people were in a ſtate of great fermentation from the idea univerſally prevalent that the miniſtry would liſten to no terms of peace, without which there was but little reaſon to hope for the return of plenty. His majeſty, on the day fixed, proceeded from the palace of St. James's to the Parliament Houſe at the uſual hour, between two and three in the afternoon. The day was remarkably fine, and an immenſe crowd (whether from accident or any pre-concerted miſchievous deſign cannot be aſcertained) aſſembled in the Park, who ſoon began to exhibit ſymptoms of ill-humour and diſcontent. As the ſtate-coach paſſed along the Mall, violent exclamations were heard of "Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! no War!" And the clamor gradually increaſing, ſtones began to be thrown at the royal carriage as it proceeded by the Horſe-

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Guards through the ſtreets of Weſtminſter; and from a houſe in Margaret-ſtreet, near the Abbey, a bullet was ſuppoſed to be diſcharged from an air-gun, as no noiſe was heard, though ſomething paſſed through the glaſs of the coach with great force and velocity, leaving only a ſmall circular aperture. On the king's return from the houſe of peers, notwithſtanding theſe outrages, no additional eſcort was ordered for the protection of the royal perſon; and though the gates of the Horſe-Guards were ſhut, the crowd already aſſembled in the Park immediately re-commenced their audacious attacks. The king at length reached St. James's; and after a ſhort interval he went into his private carriage, in order to rejoin the royal family at the queen's palace. But the rage of the miſguided populace was not yet exhauſted. The ſtate-coach, on its return to the Mews, was nearly demoliſhed by one part of the mob, while the other daringly attempted to ſtop the private carriage of the king, and even to force open the doors. This was a groſſer inſult and outrage than had ever been offered to any monarch of Great Britain ſince the days of Charles I.; and yet, for many years previous to this ſtrange incident, the king had enjoyed great popularity, though it was ſomewhat diminiſhed of late with a large proportion of his ſubjects, by his ſuppoſed enmity to all political reform, and his predilection for the preſent deſtructive war. At this laſt attack the king ſeemed to loſe his characteriſtic firmneſs, and was evidently ſtruck with amazement and conſternation. Upon the arrival, at a critical moment, of a party of life-guards, however, the populace were at length diſperſed, and the king with great difficulty and even danger reached the queen's houſe in ſafety. This ſhocking and unparalleled outrage excited the deep and univerſal reſentment of all orders of perſons throughout the nation. Thoſe who conceived the king to be moſt miſled and deceived by the arts of his miniſters highly reſpected the private virtues and good intentions of the monarch, and deteſted,

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teſted, perhaps much more ſincerely than the ſycophants of the court, this monſtrous violation of duty and decorum.

A proclamation was immediately publiſhed offering a reward of a thouſand pounds, to be paid on the conviction of any perſon who ſhould be found concerned in this daring and criminal aſſault. But it is remarkable no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever diſcovered. A man named Kidd Wake, and ſome others, were indeed proved to be among the number of the hiſſers and diſturbers of the king's peace, and were puniſhed with exceſſive ſeverity. Addreſſes from both houſes of parliament, the city of London, &c. were preſented to the king, expreſſing, in ſtrong terms, their indignation and abhorrence of the late atrocious procedure. Immediately after this buſineſs was diſpoſed of, the ſpeech delivered from the throne was taken into conſideration. In it his majeſty had declared, "that it was a great ſatisfaction to him to reflect, that, notwithſtanding the many events unfavourable to the common cauſe, the proſpect reſulting from the general ſituation of affairs had in many important reſpects been materially improved in the courſe of the preſent year." His majeſty further obſerved, "that the diſtraction and anarchy which had ſo long prevailed in France had now led to a criſis, of which it was as yet impoſſible to ſee the iſſue. Should this criſis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a diſpoſition to negotiate for a general peace, on juſt and ſuitable terms, would not fail to be met on his part with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect." His majeſty, at the cloſe of his ſpeech, mentioned the great anxiety which he felt at the very high price of grain, and recommended a diligent conſideration of ſuch meaſures as might tend to alleviate the preſent diſtreſs.

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The addreſs being moved and ſeconded in the houſe of commons, Mr. Fox roſe, and in very indignant language reprobated both the ſpeech and its authors. "Was it not enough," he aſked, "to perſiſt for three years in a war of miſerable ſpeculation—to add an hundred millions to the public debt—to load the people with four millions of additional taxes—and to ſee them reduced to a ſtate of famine—but they muſt be inſulted by the falſehood of being told their ſituation was improved? How improved? Was it an improvement that France had over-run the Palatinate, and captured Manheim? or that the enemy had abandoned ſome poſts in Italy, of which they were not a year ago in poſſeſſion? If the diſaſters of the war had impreſſed upon the miniſters a conviction of the neceſſity of peace, he ſhould indeed deem our ſituation improved. But the diſtreſſes of the French were held out as a ſubject of exultation. France was laſt year ſaid to be in her laſt agonies: although ſince that declaration ſhe had made the moſt brilliant campaign that her hiſtory had for ages exhibited. The depreciation of paper currency in France had been the inceſſant tale with which parliament had been deluded from year to year, notwithſtanding the recent and ſimilar example of America.—Mr. Fox ſaid, that the ſpecious theoretical arguments of the miniſter for the continuance of the war might ſuit well a literary or political diſputant, and might amuſe in a club-room or a pamphlet, but they were utterly unworthy of any man who took upon him the name and office of a ſtateſman. Laſt ſeſſion the miniſters had, by a reſolution of parliament, avowed their readineſs to enter into a negotiation whenever a government was eſtabliſhed in France capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. But was negotiation offered when ſuch a government appeared? It was a matter of fact, that France did maintain ſuch relations; ſince Pruſſia, Spain, and divers of the German princes, even the elector of Hanover himſelf, had made peace with her; and experience had proved, that neither the changes of men,

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nor of conſtitutions, affected the engagements they had formed with foreign countries. The only true and wiſe dependence for the continuance of peace was the equity of the terms on which it was made, and the intereſt both parties had in keeping it. The offer of negotiation," he thought, "ought to come from us, as having made declarations which ſtood in the way of negotiation. He therefore moved an amendment, which, after enumerating the various diſaſters of the campaign, and ſtating from experience that the French were able to maintain the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other nations, prayed his majeſty that ſuch terms of peace ſhould be offered to the French republic as ſhould be conſiſtent with the honor of the crown, and with the ſecurity and intereſts of the people."

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the amendment in a long ſpeech, inſiſting, as uſual, upon the ruined and undone ſtate of the French finances---720 millions of aſſignats being at the preſent time in circulation. When he conſidered their total inability to carry on the war for another campaign, he could not doubt but the ſituation of things was materially improved. The new conſtitution of France Mr. Pitt highly commended, when compared with the preceding forms; and ſuppoſing it to be put into activity with ſuch acquieſcence of the nation as to enable their repreſentatives to ſpeak on behalf of the people of France, he had no difficulty in ſaying, that all objections to the form and principles of that government, as obſtacles to negotiation, would be at an end; but that the manifeſtation of any precipitate and premature deſire for peace would in preſent circumſtances be the moſt fatal event that could poſſibly happen.

The duke of Bedford, in the houſe of lords, propoſed an amendment to the addreſs ſimilar to that of Mr. Fox in the houſe of commons; but in both houſes the amendments were negatived by very great majorities.

On the 4th of November a very remarkable proclamation was iſſued, announcing, that, immediately before the open-

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ing of the preſent ſeſſion, great numbers of perſons had collected in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, to the endangering of the public peace, and that ſuch proceedings were followed, on the day of the meeting of parliament, by acts of tumult and violence, to the immediate hazard of his majeſty's perſon; and enjoining all juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, &c. to uſe their utmoſt diligence to prevent and ſuppreſs all ſeditious and unlawful aſſemblies, &c. This proclamation was on the ſame day laid before both houſes of parliament.

The houſe of peers having been ſummoned on the motion of lord Grenville for the 6th of November, his lordſhip, at the cloſe of a long ſpeech, preſented to the houſe a bill for the ſafety and preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government againſt treaſonable and ſeditious practiſes and attempts. "Whatever variations," his lordſhip obſerved, "there might be in this bill from the precedents of former times, he aſſured their lordſhips that they would be found only to deviate ſo far as the peculiar forms of exiſting circumſtances required. The precedents to which he referred were thoſe in the reign of Elizabeth and Charles II. ---acts paſſed in *approved times*: and he doubted not but their lordſhips would agree with him in the neceſſity there was of applying a ſpeedy remedy to thoſe dangerous practices which have endangered not only the ſafety of the conſtitution but the life of the ſovereign."---The earl of Lauderdale obſerved, that "by the bill then introduced, a variety of new crimes and new treaſons would be added to the criminal code of this country, and it would effect a total alteration of the laws reſpecting treaſon, and a moſt dangerous innovation upon the conſtitution. He thought it extraordinary that ſo ſtrong a meaſure ſhould be propoſed before there was the leaſt evidence to prove the ſlighteſt connection between the meetings at Chalk-Farm and the outrage on his majeſty, or that the treaſon and ſedition complained of did actually exiſt." Upon examination of this

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this bill it was in fact found to contain an amazing heap of wild and new-fangled treasons, of which, beyond comparison, the most dangerous was "malicious and advising SPEAKING!"—an innovation upon the spirit and antient practice of the constitution so infamous and abominable, that even the abject and slavish parliament of king James II. an assembly garbled to serve the purposes of that odious tyrant, hesitated to pass a law to that effect.—This clause lord Grenville, after much debate, the times being not yet ripe for so impudently atrocious a measure, consented to omit; and the operation of the bill was limited to the life of the reigning sovereign—the bill itself being by this means converted into a standing parliamentary libel against the king; as if this monarch could want more or stronger safeguards for the security of his person than any of his predecessors had done, or his successors were likely to do. When the bill was under discussion in the committee, where it underwent some farther softenings, the great talents of lord Thurlow were exerted to prove how superfluous, as well as odious, it was altogether. The language of the bill this great lawyer asserted to be vague, indefinite, and highly dangerous to the subject; and he gave it as his decided opinion, that the present laws of the country were fully adequate to the punishment of the crimes which the bill was professedly framed to embrace; and that it could in no degree conduce to the safety of the king, or the preservation of the constitution.—The bill in question, exclusive of its creating a chaos of treasons in the same spirit of tyranny, increased the punishment which the law had provided for the crime of sedition; enacting, that, on a second conviction, the offender shall be liable to transportation for the term of seven years. The duke of Bedford expressed, in strong language, his abhorrence of the spirit and principle of the bill, and particularly of this clause, which he regarded as a wanton outrage upon the subject. "What might not be construed into sedition? and who," said

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ſaid his grace, "could conſider himſelf as wholly unintereſted in the operation of this clauſe, now that the good times of Charles II. were made the example to copy after?" The duke animadverted in pointed terms upon the extraordinary declaration of Horſeley, biſhop of Rocheſter, in the courſe of the debate, 'that ſpeculative and philoſophical diſquiſitions upon the ſubject of government, though they might be *allowed*, did more harm than good; but that public diſcuſſions of ſuch topics ought to be prevented; and that he did not know, in fact, what the maſs of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them.' "This doctrine," his grace ſaid, "from the mouth of a mufti, might be attributed to ignorance; but when pronounced in the legiſlature of this free country by the lips of a Britiſh prelate, muſt excite amazement and indignation."—Severe as the new proviſions againſt the offence of ſedition appeared, in compariſon of thoſe which had hitherto been found amply ſufficient for every uſeful and practical purpoſe, they were mildneſs itſelf compared with the barbarous latitude of the Scottiſh law upon this head. The earl of Lauderdale, therefore, very ſeaſonably and properly, though unavailingly, moved that the operation of the act might, as to this point, be extended to that kingdom; for, unleſs it could be ſhown that heavier penalties were neceſſary to ſuppreſs ſedition in a Scotchman than an Engliſhman, he could not comprehend the wiſdom or policy of the Scottiſh code.—The bill at length paſſed, though in a ſtate very different from that in which it had been at firſt introduced, and with the appendage of a proteſt ſigned by the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Derby and Lauderdale.

A meaſure extremely analogous to this was, about the ſame time, introduced into the lower houſe by Mr. Pitt, who moved, November the 10th, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies. On this occaſion, Mr. Pitt began by

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by painting in glowing colors the criminal and outrageous inſults committed upon the perſon of the king on the firſt day of the ſeſſion. He ſaid, however, that the purport of his motion was not to alter or enforce the laws for the king's ſafety, becauſe the other houſe had a bill before them to that effect, but to prevent thoſe meetings to which all the miſchiefs he had mentioned might be attributed. If the houſe meant that ſuch enormities ſhould be totally averted, they ſhould adopt ſome means of putting an end to thoſe ſeditious aſſemblies, which ſerved as vehicles to faction and diſloyalty, which fanned and kept alive the flame of diſaffection, and filled the minds of the people with diſcontent.

If, in conformity to theſe ideas, Mr. Pitt had propoſed ſome temporary meaſure, adapted to the real exigencies of the times, for the prevention of thoſe tumultuous popular aſſemblies, which had of late been ſo frequently held in the fields and commons adjoining to the metropolis, and reſorted to as the great fountain of political information and the choſen medium of reform, no rational perſon would have diſputed the propriety of his precautions; but it quickly appeared, that the diſguiſed object of this bill was to put an end to all public diſcuſſion or deliberative inveſtigation of public meaſures. The riſing diſſatisfaction of the nation had of late clearly manifeſted itſelf; and the daring deſign of the miniſter was to deſtroy all indications of that diſſatisfaction in the naſcent ſtate; to make as much as poſſible every expreſſion of diſcontent againſt the miniſtry, who called themſelves the GOVERNMENT, criminal and dangerous, by enacting a multiplicity of proviſions, complex, tedious, and burdenſome, an exact conformity to which was eſſential, even to the convening any public meeting,—and, when ſuch meeting was actually aſſembled, by inveſting any venal magiſtrate with a power of diſſolving it whenever any language which he might be pleaſed to conſtrue into ſedition ſhould be uttered by any perſon preſent at it. The magiſtrate was further empowered to apprehend the

perſons

perſons offending on the ſpot, and all reſiſtance to his authority was declared to be felony. And, by a clauſe of the propoſed bill, if fifty perſons or more meet, and, after an order to diſperſe, twelve ſhall remain one hour, it was made DEATH, without benefit of clergy. The right of petitioning, that moſt ſacred of political privileges and duties, and which neceſſarily involves in it the right of free diſcuſſion and inveſtigation of all public meaſures, was not likely to be exerciſed to any obnoxious purpoſe when chained and fettered by ſuch execrable limitations as theſe. Men of high and independent minds would feel themſelves degraded by an attendance at any public meetings upon ſuch terms as theſe. If the bill once paſſed, it was evident that the privilege of petitioning was virtually and practically loſt.

This bill met with an oppoſition, both within and without doors, ſo vigorous and reſolute as to demonſtrate that Mr. Pitt had not yet ſucceeded in his deteſtable efforts to extinguiſh the flame of liberty in England. No ſooner had the motion been read by the ſpeaker than Mr. Fox roſe and declared that the indignation he felt at the atrocious inſult offered to the king was not inferior to that of any man, but he ſhould do injuſtice to his feelings were he not to avow that it was equalled by the indignation he experienced in conſequence of the motion he had juſt heard. If Mr. Pitt meant to found this execrable meaſure on the flimſy pretext of the public meetings lately held in the vicinity of the metropolis, let him at leaſt make ſome attempt to prove the connection between them. That the violence offered to his majeſty was the reſult of theſe meetings, there exiſted no color of evidence. It ſeemed to be the object of the mover of this bill, to bring the public gradually to ſubmit to the moſt rigid deſpotiſm. If the principle of this meaſure were admitted by the houſe, Mr. Fox proteſted that in the diſcuſſion of the detail he would take no part. Public meetings for the diſcuſſion of public topics were not only lawful, but of the very eſſence of the conſtitution, and Engliſhmen had

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had immemorially enjoyed this liberty. Now it ſeems they are no longer to do ſo, unleſs notice be given to a magiſtrate empowered to arreſt any perſon whom in his wiſdom he might deem ſeditious; and who had authority to diſſolve the meeting by the *fiat* of his own will. SAY at ONCE that a free conſtitution is no longer ſuitable to England! Conduct yourſelves as the ſenators of Denmark formerly did! Renounce your liberties, and accept of deſpotiſm; but do not mock the underſtanding and feelings of mankind by telling the world you are free. Can a meeting under ſuch reſtraints as the bill impoſes and requires be called a meeting of freemen? Will the people of this country ſuffer their feelings to be thus inſulted? Or is it poſſible they can regard this meaſure in any other light than as a total extinction of their liberty? He truſted that the people would be alarmed at the proſpect of the ſtate preparing for them, and that they would aſſemble while they might, to concert the means of averting a ſtroke ſo fatal. Thoſe who failed to do ſo he pronounced traitors to their country. He declared his reſolution, if this bill was perſiſted in, of moving a call of the houſe.

After a variety of ſpeeches from the principal members of oppoſition, reprobating the bill in terms of the utmoſt indignation and aſperity, Mr. Wilberforce, who had during the two laſt ſeſſions acted ſo independent and honorable a part, roſe, and, in the moſt puſillanimous language, acknowledged his acquieſcence in, and approbation of, the meaſure. "For three years," he ſaid, "attempts had been made to poiſon the minds of the people, by diſſeminating falſe principles of liberty; and not of liberty merely, but of philoſophy and religion likewiſe. That all this had not been without effect, recent events had afforded ſufficient proof, and he thought the adminiſtration entitled to the thanks of the nation for adopting the neceſſary meaſures of reſtraint and prevention. He did not regard the bill propoſed by *his right honorable* FRIEND as militating againſt the right

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right of diſcuſſing political queſtions, and rather thought that right would acquire new life and vigor when thoſe aſſemblies at which public diſcuſſions took place ſhould be brought under proper regulations!" The bill was ordered in by a majority of 214 to 42 voices.

Mr. Fox now moved for a call of the houſe, which was acceded to by Mr. Pitt, who obſerved, notwithſtanding, that the bill would be produced in a day or two, and that it might be read a firſt and ſecond time, and go through the committee, before the call.—Mr. Grey urged the right the people of England had to expect that a bill of ſuch dreadful import ſhould at leaſt be diſcuſſed in a full houſe; and hoped time would be given at leaſt to utter the laſt bitter groans of expiring liberty. The call was at length fixed for the 24th of November. In the mean time, the nation at large, or at leaſt all who retained any ſenſe of the ineſtimable value of the bleſſings of liberty, had taken the alarm at the bills now depending, and meetings were convened in a great number of counties, cities, and boroughs, to petition parliament againſt the paſſing of them into laws. The Correſponding Society, whoſe imprudent proceedings had afforded the pretext for theſe nefarious and liberticidal meaſures, met, for the laſt time, in the field near Copenhagen Houſe, November 12, in prodigious numbers. The greateſt decorum was notwithſtanding obſerved, and petitions were agreed on to the king and two houſes of parliament againſt the bills in queſtion, after which they diſperſed in the moſt perfect order. In a very ſhort time, near a hundred other petitions were preſented to parliament againſt the bills, ſigned by more than 130,000 perſons; but no conſideration could check the miniſter in his headlong career, ſupported as he was by vaſt majorities of both houſes.

On the 16th of November the Treaſon Bill was ſent down from the lords, and, after encountering great reſiſtance in every ſtage, it finally paſſed into an act moſt diſgraceful to the code of Engliſh ſtatutes.

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On the second reading of the Sedition Bill, Mr. Erskine distinguished himself by some very animated remarks against it. "An act of this description," he said, "was never thought of in the reign of king Charles II. after all the horrors and confusion of the former reign. It was never attempted in the reign of king William, when the government was newly established during a disputed succession, or in either of the two subsequent reigns, when rebellions raged in the heart of the kingdom.—He defied the whole profession of the law to prove that the bill then before the house was consonant to the principles of the constitution. The constitution was abrogated and annulled by it. Our ancestors were content to wait till some overt act appeared which was the subject of punishment: but, under this bill, the determination of a magistrate was to interfere between the people and the assertion of their rights, or the complaint of their grievances.—How easy would it be for the spy of a corrupt magistrate, by going to a meeting and uttering a few seditious words, whether apposite to the subject or not, to afford a pretence for dissolving the meeting. The law of the land," this great constitutional lawyer affirmed, "was fully adequate to all the purposes of good government without the introduction of the present measure. In any public meeting, when a breach of the peace was committed, a magistrate, by the existing law, was entitled to interfere, and, in his support, was authorised to raise the *posse comitatis* if necessary; and also by the Riot Act he had the power of dispersing tumultuous assemblies.—The minister was now attempting to brand with the imputation of sedition all those who employed the same language which Mr. Pitt himself had once held. But under the sanction of the venerable father of this apostate minister, the great earl of Chatham, he would maintain that the people of England might and ought to defend their rights, if necessary, by the last extremity to which free-men could resort. For my part," exclaimed this celebrated advocate of the constitution, "I shall never

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never ceaſe to ſtruggle in ſupport of liberty! In no ſituation will I deſert the cauſe—I was born a free-man, I will never die a ſlave!"

On the 23d of November a debate took place in conſequence of a variety of petitions preſented againſt the bills. Mr. Sturt, on offering that of the Correſponding Society, juſtified that body from the aſperſions thrown out againſt them and their writings; and, to prove that things at leaſt equally exceptionable had appeared from the partizans of the miniſtry, he read to the houſe ſeveral paſſages from a pamphlet publiſhed by Mr. Reeves, preſident of the London Aſſociation, in which that gentleman had, amongſt other curious poſitions, aſſerted, "that the government of England was a monarchy; that the monarchy was the ancient ſtock from which have ſprung thoſe goodly branches of the legiſlature, the lords and commons; that theſe, however, were ſtill only branches, and that they might be lopped off, and the tree be a tree ſtill---ſhorn indeed of its honors, but not, like them, caſt into the fire." This contemptible traſh was taken up as a very ſerious matter by the houſe, and not only voted to be a libel upon the conſtitution, which was very ſuperfluous, but the attorney-general was ordered to commence a proſecution againſt the author, which was very indefenſible. But by the verdict of an intelligent jury, who were ſenſible that opinions ought to be free, he was ſubſequently acquitted, to the great ſatisfaction of his more generous political adverſaries.

When the houſe went (November 27), into a committee on the Sedition Bill, Mr. Fox, true to his firſt declaration of not debating the bill in detail, immediately roſe and left the houſe, followed by the principal members of oppoſition. A very material amendment was, however, made in the committee, by inſerting a clauſe, limiting the duration of the bill to three years---a conceſſion no doubt extorted from the miniſter by the alarm excited in every part of the country by this meaſure. On the 3d of December this bill was

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paſſed and ſent up to the lords, where it was vigorouſly but unavailingly oppoſed by the marquis of Lanſdown, the earls of Derby and Moira, and lord Thurlow, who ſtigmatized it as "a bad bill, eſtabliſhing a dangerous and unconſtitutional precedent. Not that the bill oppugned the right of the ſubject to diſcuſs public grievances---No: it only rendered the exerciſe of that right impracticable. His lordſhip contraſted in a ſtriking manner the proviſions of the preſent bill with thoſe of the Riot Act. By the latter, the perſons aſſembled for an unlawful purpoſe did not incur the penalty of death, unleſs they continued together riotouſly and tumultuouſly for one hour after the act had been read. By the former, if an aſſembly convened for the mere diſcuſſion of public topics continued together peaceably, to the number of twelve or more, for one hour after proclamation was made commanding them to diſperſe, they were guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. For ſuch a bill as the preſent," his lordſhip declared, "he was fully determined not to vote." On the 14th of December, the bill was read a third time, and paſſed by the uſual majority. It was accompanied by two proteſts, the firſt of which expreſſed in ſimple, the ſecond in energetic, language, the chief arguments againſt the bill.

In the early part of the ſeſſion, a great variety of expedients were ſuggeſted, and ſome adopted, by the houſe of commons, for alleviating the diſtreſſes of the poor, by lowering the price of bread-corn. Bills were introduced to alter the exiſting laws relative to the aſſize of bread; to prohibit the manufacture of ſtarch from wheat; to prohibit the diſtilling from any articles of grain; to prevent obſtruction in the tranſit of grain, &c.---So far as theſe laws operated at all, the operation was allowed to be beneficial. But a more direct and radical remedy for the exiſting evil, as it affected the moſt uſeful and neceſſary branch of the community, was propoſed by Mr. Whitbread, who, on the 9th of December, brought in a bill to enable juſtices at the

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quarter seſſion to regulate the price of labor. This was powerfully ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Jekyl, Mr. Lechmere, and many other reſpectable perſons: but it was oppoſed in a very elaborate ſpeech by Mr. Pitt, who exhorted the houſe to ſeek for ſome other remedy more comprehenſive in its object, leſs exceptionable in its example, and leſs dangerous in its application. He made a very florid harangue upon the exiſting ſyſtem of poor's laws, which he cenſured as very erroneous, and aſſerted that much of the evils complained of might be remedied by a reformation in thoſe laws, which had been already begun; and it was his wiſh and intention to correct their defects, to free them from the corruption by which they were obſcured, and to reſtore them to their original purity. The chancellor of the Exchequer thus interpoſing his VETO, the motion of Mr. Whitbread paſſed in the negative. The poor therefore throughout the kingdom were kept from periſhing only by voluntary ſubſcriptions; and national charity poorly compenſated for the abſence of national juſtice.

It may be proper in a few words to ſubjoin, that, at a ſubſequent period, Mr. Pitt, agreeably to his engagement, brought in a bill for the reform of the poor's laws, ſo abſurd, ſo indigeſted, and ſo impracticable, that it found not a ſingle advocate, either in or out of the houſe; and the ſanguine expectations he had excited of a reform on this, as on other occaſions, of ſtill higher moment, were moſt completely diſappointed.*

One hundred and ten thouſand ſeamen, including marines, and two hundred and ſeven thouſand landmen, were voted for the ſervice of the year. In the extraordinaries of the army eſtimates, the ſum of 314,000*l.* was charged for the expenſe of erecting barracks, without any previous conſent or knowledge of parliament. The general ſtatement of account was brought forward December 7, when Mr.

* Vide 'Remarks on Mr. Pitt's Bill for the Reform of the Poor's Laws.'

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Mr. Pitt propoſed a loan of 18 millions, excluſive of a vote of credit for two millions and a half. For every hundred pounds in money the ſubſcriber was entitled to 120 *l.* 3 per-cents. and 25*l.* 4 per-cents. with an addition of 6*s.* 6*d.* in the Long Annuity. In the courſe of a ſevere inveſtigation into the circumſtances attending the negotiation of this loan, it appeared that a very extraordinary and marked preference had been given by the miniſter to the mercantile houſe of Boyd, though conducted on the profeſſed principle of a free and open competition, and that the equally-reſpectable houſe of Morgan would have taken it on terms conſiderably more advantageous to the public—as was ſtated at large in a very able manner by Mr. William Smith, who moved for a committee of enquiry on this ſubject. But the chancellor of the Exchequer ſtated in his vindication, that he had pledged himſelf not to bring a new loan into the market till the laſt inſtalment on the laſt year's loan, alſo contracted for by the houſe of Boyd, was paid up. This circumſtance he had not *recollected* when he offered a competition; but when it was recalled to his memory, he thought himſelf obliged to give the offer of the new loan to Mr. Boyd. This was repreſented to be as ſtrange a thing to forget as improvident to promiſe. Mr. Smith undertook to prove that only 1,400,000*l.* remained in the market of the former loan, and that, by the prodigal conditions of the preſent, the ſum of 400,000*l.* was loſt to the public. The moſt probable motive of the preference given to the houſe of Boyd, however, appeared, in the courſe of the inveſtigation, to be, that this great commercial houſe had aſſiſted the Board of Treaſury, diſtreſſed beyond all example for want of money, previous to the meeting of parliament, by drawing fictitious bills of exchange, antedated from Hamburg, upon the credit of which caſh to the amount of two millions and upwards was advanced to government. Such was the nature of this tranſaction, that though it was not deemed expedient by the Bank of England to refuſe to diſcount the notes,

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notes, the governor of the bank had, it ſeems, declared that it would have ſtamped diſgrace upon the character of any private merchant, and have ſhaken the credit of his houſe. After ſuch a deception, who, it was pointedly aſked, could in future pretend to diſtinguiſh between a fair Treaſury bill or a fictitious and colluſive one, *fraudulently* framed to anſwer a temporary purpoſe: for the ſolicitor-general acknowledged it to be at leaſt doubtful whether any action could be brought by the holders of thoſe bills. In concluſion, the reſolutions of cenſure moved by Mr. Smith were negatived, and counter-reſolutions paſſed expreſſive of the approbation of the houſe at the conduct of the miniſter.

On the 8th of December a meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to the houſe by Mr. Pitt, announcing "the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expreſſive of his readineſs to *meet* any negotiation on the part of the enemy, with a deſire to give it the ſpeedieſt effect in producing a peace." And on the following day Mr. Pitt moved an addreſs in reply. This gave occaſion to a debate; and Mr. Sheridan propoſed an amendment, "altogether diſclaiming the idea of conſidering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negotiation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was ſaid to be perfectly conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the meſſage, which admitted that Great Britain *might* now ſafely treat. Where then could be the objection to declare that ſhe *would* treat with France? It was a vulgar, and indeed the moſt vulgar of opinions, to ſuppoſe that it was diſadvantageous to a power at war to be the firſt to offer terms of peace. The experience of hiſtory proved the reverſe? Were peace now offered on reaſonable terms, it would not be poſſible for the French government to refuſe their aſſent." The miniſter however

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however insisted on being left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.*

No step however being apparently taken by the government towards a pacification, soon after the recess of parliament Mr. Grey moved (February 15, 1796), for an address to the king, praying him to communicate to the executive government of the French republic his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect. In reply, Mr. Pitt urged confidence in ministers, and observed that, if the house thought this confidence could not be safely vested in them, the proper mode was to address his majesty for their removal. He asserted that the French had almost exhausted their means of carrying on the war; and said that, since his majesty's message had been delivered, ministry had taken every measure, consistent with the interests of the country, to accomplish the object of it. The point to be considered was the probability of obtaining just and honorable terms; but such terms must be very different from those which the public declarations of the French had for a long time past indicated. The question being put, the motion was of course negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of February, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his annual motion, perhaps—since the feelings of the house had long become callous upon the subject—better omitted, for the abolition of the slave-trade. The motion was supported nevertheless with eloquence and ardor by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Smith, and others; and it was opposed with equal vehemence by Sir William Yonge, Mr. Dundas, and general Tarleton, member for Liverpool, the chief emporium of this horrid traffic. The general at length moved to postpone the farther consideration of the business for four

* On the 7th of January, 1796, the princess of Wales was delivered of a daughter, to whom was given the name of Charlotte—and who, as the only issue of the marriage, appears very likely, in exclusion of all the male branches of the royal family, to inherit the crown of Britain.

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months, which was ultimately carried, no doubt to the equal aſtoniſhment and chagrin of the chancellor of the Exchequer, whoſe influence unfortuately extended to every queſtion but this.

A great variety of papers on the ſubject of finance having been ſome weeks before the houſe, Mr. Grey, on the 10th of March, moved that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the nation, enforcing his motion by a ſpeech replete with information of the moſt intereſting nature. On taking the eſtimate of the three preceding years of the war, we had added 77 millions to the capital of our funded debt. Whatever ſums had been voted by parliament were invariably upon eſtimate, but the real expenſe was much greater. In addition to the parliamentary grants, enormous ſums of money had been expended without the conſent of parliament. At the beginning of the war the miniſter had pledged himſelf, as far as poſſible to keep down the extraordinaries of the army and navy, and to prevent the accumulation of unfunded debt: but it was a fact that the whole aggregate of the extraordinaries incurred in the wars of king William and queen Anne did not amount to one half of the extraordinaries of the preſent year. The total of the ſums ſpent in this war of defeat and diſgrace, without the conſent of parliament, Mr. Grey ſtated at 31,280,000 *l.* of which 1,100,000 *l.* had been applied to the erection of *barracks*—termed with propriety, by judge Blackſtone, 'inland fortreſſes.' But the enormous extent of the expenditure was by no means the only or the moſt alarming circumſtance attending it. The mode of advancing money to the government by the Bank had undoubtedly the ſanction of parliament, but it was a practice which had been limited and reſtrained by the conſtitutional jealouſy of the legiſlature. No maxim was better underſtood in that houſe than that no advance beyond a ſpecified limit ſhall be made to government by the Bank in anticipation

tion of the revenue. This prevented the miniſter from having a command of money without the conſent of parliament, and it alſo enabled the Bank to afford that commercial aſſiſtance which was the primary object of the inſtitution. Theſe ſalutary maxims had been moſt groſsly violated by the preſent miniſter, and his conduct had been greatly diſtreſſing to the commercial part of the country. On the 1ſt of January, 1793, the Bank was in advance to government 11,643,000 *l.* which accounted for the inability of the directors to aſſiſt as uſual the mercantile credit. This practice had been provided againſt by the act of William and Mary, which eſtabliſhed the company; but when a bill upon a vote of credit a few ſeſſions ago paſſed through the houſe, a clauſe was ſurreptitiouſly introduced which entirely fruſtrated the ſalutary purpoſes of the act in this reſpect. A vaſt floating debt, Mr. Grey ſaid, remained to be provided for, notwithſtanding the loan already negotiated; and the amount of the taxes already impoſed during the war, or exiſting previous to it, fell ſhort of the annual revenue which would be neceſſary for the ſupport even of a peace eſtabliſhment—no leſs than two millions and a half. And Mr. Grey conjured the houſe, in an eloquent peroration, to dread the over-grown influence of a miniſter whoſe whole conduct was radically hoſtile to the fundamental principles of our conſtitution.

In reply, Mr. Jenkinſon inſiſted that the preſent poſture of affairs afforded no ſufficient ground for enquiry, and that the increaſed expenſe of wars was owing to the increaſed proſperity of the nation. If the war was juſt and neceſſary, which he ſhould always maintain, ſince it had been ſanctioned by parliament, he did not ſee how the expenſe of the war, which was alſo ſanctioned by parliament, ſhould become a proper ſubject of their enquiry; and he therefore moved the order of the day; which, with much debate, was carried by a large majority.

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That Mr. Grey did not in any degree exaggerate the public embarraſſments, and the miniſterial miſconduct which had occaſioned them, but too ſoon and too plainly appeared; for, after a ſhort interval, Mr. Pitt came forward with a propoſition (March 18), for a ſecond loan, to the amount of ſeven millions and a half, in order, as he ſaid, to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper conſtituting the unfunded debt, which was contracted for on nearly the ſame terms as the former. Inſtead of bluſhing at the unparalleled enormity of theſe ſucceſſive demands—amounting to 43 millions and a half ſterling in fourteen months, for paying the intereſt upon which new taxes were impoſed, in perpetuity, to the amount of 3,300,000 *l.*—Mr. Pitt hoped that nothing would diſcourage the houſe from perſevering in a war whoſe end was ſo laudable. He inſiſted, as he had ſo often before done, upon the ruined ſtate of the finances of France, and concluded by exclaiming: "The ultimate iſſue of the conteſt muſt be glorious, if we are not wanting to ourſelves! We ſhall, by the bleſſing of Providence, deliver ourſelves from the worſt of dangers, and at the ſame time tranſmit to poſterity a moſt uſeful leſſon, that a bankrupt, turbulent, and lawleſs nation cannot meaſure itſelf with the ſpontaneous and well-regulated conduct of a free and loyal country!" After much warm diſcuſſion the reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt were agreed to.

It is worthy of remark, that, in the year (1782), a committee, of which Mr. Pitt was a member, was appointed by parliament to examine the public accounts of the kingdom; and, in their report, they obſerve, "that the enormous amount of the extraordinaries incurred without the conſent of the parliament is an abuſe of the moſt alarming nature, enabling miniſters to deceive the nation by keeping back the great expenſes of the war, and concealing thereby the extent of its engagements." In the ſhort ſpace of three years, which had elapſed ſince the commencement, a debt funded and

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and unfunded, ſcarcely ſhort of a hundred millions, had been already contracted, and all enquiry into the neceſſity of this incredible expenditure uniformly denied. Surely then it cannot be too harſh to characterize the financial adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt as exhibiting a ſyſtem infamouſly improvident. If a national bankruptcy ſhould be the ultimate, as it ſeems the inevitable, reſult of this ſyſtem, let us thank GOD that the LAND remains, and that no extravagance of kings or miniſters can annihilate it. If our government could have had ſuch communion with the inhabitants of the ſun or moon, or any other agents viſible or inviſible, as by parting with territory to have obtained the means of ſupplying their immediate purpoſes, there would not have been by this time an acre of ground left for an Engliſhman to have ſet his foot upon. But regret and indignation are alike uſeleſs and unavailing; and we ſubmit to the oppreſſions inflicted by ſuch an adminiſtration as the preſent, as to a plague, a famine, or an earthquake, or any other viſitation of Providence in the natural or moral world.

Nothing very remarkable occurred in parliament after this till the beginning of May, when Mr. Grey brought forward an elaborate ſeries of reſolutions, tending to eſtabliſh the following concluſions:—That miniſters had violated the expreſs ſtipulations of the Appropriation Act, by applying grants to other ſervices than thoſe for which they were voted; that they had preſented falſe accounts to the houſe to conceal this infraction; that they had violated another law for regulating the office of paymaſter-general of the forces. —The reſolutions were no leſs than fifteen in number, the laſt of which ſtated that, in the inſtances ſpecified, his majeſty's miniſters had been guilty of preſenting falſe accounts, calculated to miſlead the judgment of the houſe—of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a groſs miſapplication of the public money: and Mr. Grey declared, at the ſame time, his purpoſe, if theſe reſolutions were carried, to make them the baſis of an impeachment for

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for high crimes and misdemeanours.—Mr. Grey requested the house to recollect that there was an act passed every session, after the grants for the year were made, *appropriating* certain sums to certain purposes; which act had, as Mr. Grey proved in numerous and very important instances, been most grossly violated. The money appropriated to clothing the army, for example, had never been so applied, and there was then due six hundred thousand pounds and upwards to the several colonels of regiments, &c. upon this account. It was very possible that exigencies might arise which would justify, in a certain degree, deviations from the Act of Appropriation, but in such cases the necessity ought to be stated to the house, and an indemnity granted. On the contrary, great pains had been taken to impose upon the house by false accounts, as appeared by reference to what is styled, in parliamentary language, the Disposition Paper—a document established at the Revolution, as a real account, for the information of parliament, how the supplies were employed. This paper he now arraigned as completely false. It stated that the sums voted for the army, &c. had been issued when that branch of the service was still in arrear.—The question before the house was, whether they would suffer this official statement to become a mere form, and the minister to apply the public money as he thought proper, in defiance of the solemn enactments of the legislature? In direct violation also of an act of parliament, the paymaster of the army was allowed to retain in his hands a very large balance of the public money which ought to have been paid into the Bank.

Mr. Pitt's defence was very vague and general. "The Act of Appropriation had at no time," he said, "been strictly adhered to; though he allowed that the recent deviations from it had been greater than formerly. It was no reproach to the treasury not to be able to ascertain things in their nature inascertainable. Considering the variety of operations to which the views of ministers must be directed

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in a war like the preſent, and the neceſſary changes which muſt take place, it would ill accord with the public ſervice to bind them down by the ſtrict letter of the act. The balance in the hands of the paymaſter was," he ſaid, "temporary and accidental, and owing to the refuſal of the directors of the Bank to receive Exchequer-bills as caſh; but they had ſince agreed to receive them."

Mr. Fox obſerved, that "whoever had heard the defence ſet up, without adverting to the accuſation, would have thought that the latter was directed againſt the incurring any extraordinaries at all; not that they had been incurred improvidently, or had been with-held improperly from the houſe; or, when incurred and provided for, that the money voted for them had not been applied to their diſcharge. Arguing generally, it was no doubt certain that, when neceſſity demanded, the Act of Appropriation muſt be diſpenſed with; and this ſort of argument would apply to any other law, inevitable neceſſity being an anſwer to every thing. The great matter to be explained was, why were the ſums voted by the houſe for extraordinary purpoſes not applied to their original deſtination?—That the money originally voted was applied neceſſarily to other purpoſes was no reaſon for delaying the payment one hour after the ſucceeding grant which included and provided for all preceding deficiencies. The miniſter had anſwered this by the avowal of a ſyſtem which tended to bring our finances into the greateſt confuſion—that new grants for old demands ſhould be applied to the diſcharge of ſtill newer demands: ſo that to the uncertainty of the appropriation of grants there would be no end. Without ſome alteration in this practice, neither the houſe of commons nor the public could ever know that money was applied to the purpoſes to which the law deſtined it."—Mr. Fox ſeverely cenſured the infringement of the act relative to the office of paymaſter. "If the Bank refuſed Exchequer-bills, the money ought to have been iſſued ſome other way.

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If the Bank had not conſented to the new arrangement, was the balance never to be paid as the act of parliament poſitively directed?"—The previous queſtion at length releaſed the miniſter from one of the moſt diſagreeable dilemmas he had ever found himſelf in; and the reſolutions of Mr. Grey were virtually rejected by a vaſt majority of 171 voices.

Nearly at the ſame time the marquis of Lanſdown, actuated by the ſame general views with Mr. Grey, moved the houſe of lords for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the public expenditure. "Many reforms," his lordſhip ſaid, "had been clearly and ably pointed out in the reports of the commiſſioners of accounts nominated during the late war, which had been neglected by the preſent miniſters; and the time would fail him ſhould he enumerate all the abuſes which had been introduced and ſanctioned by them. He was tired of inſpecting that regiſter of corruption, *the* RED BOOK. But, above all other abuſes and innovations, his lordſhip deprecated that which he ſaid ſwallowed up the reſt—*the power inſidiouſly acquired by the miniſter of obtaining advances from the Bank to an unlimited amount.* By a moſt ſalutary regulation of the original act of king William, the Bank was reſtricted within very narrow bounds. But this reſtraint had been repealed by a clauſe ſo artfully inſerted in a late act of parliament, that had it not been for the vigilance of a noble lord then preſent (the earl of Lauderdale), it would have paſſed wholly unnoticed. In conſequence of this repeal, the Bank might ſtretch their credit to government at pleaſure; and the miniſter, without conſent of parliament, had an ample reſource within his reach. His lordſhip wiſhed to have it thoroughly aſcertained, whether, and how far, the public expenſes had increaſed beyond the ſupplies annually granted by parliament?"—After a warm debate the motion was negatived by 104 to 12 voices only.

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On the 10th of May an addreſs to the king was moved in both houſes—by the earl of Guildford in the upper, by Mr. Fox in the lower houſe of parliament—drawn in terms of remarkable vigor and ability, and containing many ſtriking and important though uncourtly and unwelcome truths. The addreſs declared "That the duty incumbent upon parliament no longer permitted them to diſſemble their deliberate opinion that the diſtreſs, difficulty, and peril, to which this country is now ſubjected, have ariſen from the miſconduct of the king's miniſters, and are likely to ſubſiſt and increaſe as long as the ſame principles which have hitherto guided theſe miniſters ſhall continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.—It is painful to us," ſay the ſupporters of this high-ſpirited addreſs, "to remind your majeſty of the ſituation of your dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of proſperity to which the ſkill and induſtry of your majeſty's ſubjects had, under the ſafeguard of a free conſtitution, raiſed the Britiſh empire, ſince it can only fill your mind with the melancholy recollection of proſperity abuſed, and of opportunities of ſecuring permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor ſhall we preſume to wound your majeſty's benevolence, by dwelling on the fortunate conſequences which might have ariſen from the mediation of Great Britain between the powers then at war, which might have enſured the permanence of our proſperity while it preſerved all Europe from the calamities which it has ſince endured,—a mediation which this kingdom was ſo well fitted to carry on with vigor and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal diſtance from the contending extremes of licentiouſneſs and tyranny.—From this neutral and impartial ſyſtem of policy your majeſty's miniſters were induced to depart by certain meaſures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hoſtile to this country. With what juſtice thoſe complaints were made we are not now

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called upon to determine, ſince it cannot be pretended that the meaſures of France were of ſuch a nature as to preclude the poſſibility of adjuſtment by negotiation; and it is impoſſible to deny that the power which ſhuts up the channel of accommodation muſt be the real aggreſſor in war. To reject negotiation is to determine on hoſtilities; and, whatever may have been the nature of the points in queſtion between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refuſal of ſuch an authorized communication with that country as might have amicably terminated the diſpute to be the true and immediate cauſe of the rupture which followed.

"Nor can we forbear to remark that the pretences under which your majeſty's miniſters then haughtily refuſed ſuch authorized communication have been ſufficiently expoſed by their own conduct in ſince ſubmitting to a ſimilar intercourſe with the ſame government.

"The miſguided policy which thus rendered the war inevitable appears to have actuated your majeſty's miniſters in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the ſame time we cannot but obſerve that the obſtinacy with which they have adhered to their deſperate ſyſtem is not more remarkable than their verſatility in the pretexts upon which they have juſtified it. At one period the ſtrength, at another the weakneſs, of the enemy, have been urged as motives for continuing the war; the ſucceſſes as well as the defeats of the allies have contributed only to prolong the conteſt; and hope and deſpair have equally ſerved to involve us ſtill deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endleſs train of calamities.

"After the original profeſſed objects had been obtained by the expulſion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Auſtrian Netherlands we find your majeſty's miniſters, influenced either by arrogance or by infatuated ambition, and the vain hope of conqueſts which, if realized, could never compenſate to the nation for the blood and treaſure by which they muſt be obtained, rejecting

ing unheard the overtures made by the Executive Council of France, at a period when circumſtances were ſo eminently favorable to your majeſty and your allies, that there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that a negotiation commenced at ſuch a juncture muſt have terminated in an honorable and advantageous peace; to the proſpects ariſing from ſuch an opportunity they preferred a blind and obſtinate perſeverance in a war which could ſcarce have any remaining object but the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of impoſing upon France a government diſapproved of by the inhabitants of that country; and ſuch was the infatuation of theſe miniſters, that, far from being able to frame a wiſe and comprehenſive ſyſtem of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate ſcheme. The general exiſtence of a deſign to interpoſe in the internal government was too manifeſt not to rouze into active hoſtility the national zeal of that people; but their particular projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence or procure the co-operation of thoſe Frenchmen who were diſaffected to the government of their country. The nature of theſe plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate uſeful friends.

"We beg leave farther to repreſent to your majeſty that, at ſubſequent periods, your miniſters have ſuffered the moſt favorable opportunities to eſcape of obtaining an honorable and advantageous pacification. They did not avail themſelves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken ſtrength of the general confederacy which had been formed againſt France for the purpoſe of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They ſaw the ſeceſſion of ſeveral powerful ſtates from that confederacy, they ſuffered it to diſſolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination charged with the moſt queſtionable and unjuſtifiable views, without availing

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availing themſelves of that combination for procuring favorable conditions of peace. That, from this fatal neglect, the progreſs of hoſtilities has only ſerved to eſtabliſh the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt that the unjuſtifiable and impracticable attempt to eſtabliſh royalty in France by force has only proved fatal to its unfortunate ſupporters. We have ſeen with regret the ſubjugation of Holland, and the aggrandizement of the French republic; and we have to lament the alteration in the ſtate of Europe, not only from the ſucceſſes of the French, but from the formidable acquiſitions of ſome of the allied powers on the ſide of Poland—acquiſitions alarming from their magnitude, but ſtill more ſo from the manner in which they have been made; thus fatally learning that the war has tended alone to eſtabliſh the very evils for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

" On a review of ſo many inſtances of groſs and flagrant miſconduct, proceeding from the ſame pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obſtinacy to the ſame miſchievous ends, we deem ourſelves bound, in duty to your majeſty and to our conſtituents, to declare that we ſee no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our preſent calamities.

" Unleſs your majeſty's miniſters ſhall, from a real conviction of paſt errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon ſuch a ſyſtem, we can neither give any credit to the ſincerity of their profeſſions of a wiſh for peace, nor repoſe any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a proſperous iſſue. Odious as they are to an enemy, who will ſtill believe them ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to diſavow, contemptible in the eyes of

of all Europe from the diſplay of inſincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes reſt on your majeſty's royal wiſdom and unqueſtioned affection for your people, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt maxims of policy more ſuitable to the circumſtances of the times than thoſe by which your majeſty's miniſters appear to have been governed, and to direct your ſervants to take meaſures which, by differing eſſentially, as well in their tendency as in the principle upon which they are founded, from thoſe which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country ſome reaſonable hope, at no very diſtant period, of the eſtabliſhment of a peace ſuitable to the intereſts of Great Britain, and likely to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe."

This incomparable addreſs excited very animated debates in both houſes; and the miniſters, ſtung and mortified to the quick, in vain attempted to clear themſelves from the ſevere and heavy imputations contained in it—imputations which will moſt indubitably be ratified by the verdict of a diſcerning and impartial poſterity. But, on the diviſion, it appeared that they had as much the advantage in numbers as their opponents in argument—the motions both of lord Guildford and Mr. Fox being negatived by prodigious majorities. The public buſineſs being now concluded, his majeſty terminated the ſeſſion (May 19, 1796), with a ſpeech from the throne, filled with the higheſt compliments to both houſes "for the uniform wiſdom, temper, and firmneſs, which had appeared in all their proceedings ſince their firſt meeting in that place." And, on the following day, a proclamation was iſſued for their diſſolution, and an end was happily put to the political exiſtence of this ſtill-confiding, ſtill-confounded parliament, which had ſo enormouſly, and with ſuch blind and obſtinate raſhneſs, added to the preſſure of the public burdens, and involved the nation in a conteſt the moſt ruinous, the moſt unjuſt, and the moſt unneceſſary, in which it had ever been engaged ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy.

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In conſequence of the total ſubjugation of Holland by the French armies, hoſtilities in that quarter were for the preſent altogether extinguiſhed; but in other parts the war was carried on with increaſed and redoubled fury. The Auſtrian armies were now placed under the command of the archduke Charles, brother to the emperor, a young prince of great ſpirit and gallantry, and who was ſaid to inherit no inconſiderable ſhare of thoſe military talents which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his illuſtrious anceſtor, the great duke of Lorraine. The armiſtice expiring on the 31ſt of May, the operations of the campaign upon the Rhine began by a ſucceſsful attack on the part of the French upon the Auſtrian poſts ſituated on the Sieg and the Lahn, ſtreams which run in a weſtward direction into that great river, with a view of opening the way to Mentz, the ſiege of which they once more meant to attempt. But the Auſtrians, aſſembling in great force, compelled the French to retreat and reſume their former poſitions. A totally different plan was now therefore adopted; and general Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, feigning preparations for another and more ſerious attack, drew off his troops with the utmoſt ſecreſy, and by forced marches arrived at Straſburg: and notwithſtanding an accidental inundation which raiſed the waters of the Rhine to an uncommon height, he effected the paſſage of the river, and by a ſudden and furious aſſault reduced the fortreſs of Kehl on the oppoſite bank. General Wurmſer, who commanded in this quarter, unable to withſtand the impetuoſity of this irruption, immediately applied to the archduke for aid; and his imperial highneſs, ſenſible of the importance of checking early the progreſs of the French in the Briſgau, haſtened in perſon with a large body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Before the arrival of this reinforcement, however, the Auſtrians had been worſted in various engagements, and the paſſes of the Black Foreſt forced in ſeveral parts. General Wurmſer having at length formed a junction with the

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the archduke, they took a very advantageous poſition near the village of Ettingen, where they waited the attack of the French; and on the 9th of July a moſt bloody battle was fought at this ſpot with deſperate valor on both ſides. Fortune at laſt decided in favor of the republicans, and the Auſtrians, retreating with precipitation into the heart of Germany, left the fortreſſes of Mentz, Manheim, Philipſburg, and Ehrenbreitſtein, to their natural defence.

General Jourdain, who commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, having repaſſed the Lahn, was by this time before the gates of Frankfort; ſo that the French were now maſters of the whole courſe of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland to the Weſtphalian frontier. General Moreau, after taking poſſeſſion of Fribourg, the chief town in the Briſgau, and Stutgard, the capital of the duchy of Wirtemberg, croſſed the Necker, reducing the entire circle of Suabia to ſubmiſſion. Jourdain in the mean while marching through Frankfort, Aſchaffenburg, and Wurtzburg, all of which places ſurrendered almoſt to his firſt ſummons, found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole of Franconia. A diviſion of the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, under Ferino, having at the other extremity of the line ſeized upon the city of Conſtance, and the various fortreſſes on the Lake, the republican armies formed an immenſe chain, of which the left extended to the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony, and the right to the Tyrolian mountains. In theſe circumſtances the duke of Wirtemberg and the prince of Baden, bereft of their territories, ſent ambaſſadors to the Directory to ſue for peace, which was granted them on their engaging to withdraw from all alliances offenſive and defenſive into which they had entered againſt the republic, and to cede to France whatever territory they poſſeſſed, which was but of trivial account, on the left or French ſide of the Rhine. A new treaty of friendſhip and alliance was at the ſame time concluded with the king of Pruſſia, who, delighted to ſee the humiliation of the houſe

of

of Auſtria, was occupied only with the thought how to convert the paſſing events of the war to his own advantage. With this view, and truſting to the connivance at leaſt of the French, he detached a body of troops to ſeize upon the imperial city of Nurenburg, upon which he took this opportunity to advance ſome abſurd and frivolous claims.

As the French armies advanced into Germany, the inhabitants, who were at firſt much biaſſed in their favor, and ſtrongly attached to the principles upon which the revolution had been originally founded, began to perceive that principles and practices were not neceſſarily connected, and that, in the preſent inſtance, they were far as the poles aſunder. The contributions levied by the French generals for the ſupport of their troops in the German principalities were ſo heavy as to make the Germans bitterly to regret the milder tyranny of their own petty deſpots; and the troops, fluſhed with the pride of victory, indulged in all manner of military licenſe. The French government had never really or ſeriouſly entertained the deſign of eſtabliſhing their dominion or influence on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine, and ſince their connection with Pruſſia they were particularly careful not to alarm the court of Berlin by any projects of revolutionizing the empire. The bond of union between them was the deſire of humbling the power of the Auſtrian houſe; which it was now, as at all other times, the true policy of Great Britain to ſupport and ſtrengthen. When the emperor indulged the wild ambition of aggrandizing himſelf at the expence of France, and of partitioning her provinces, it would indeed have been not only the higheſt wiſdom, but the trueſt friendſhip, in the court of London, to have interpoſed her powerful and irreſiſtible mediation to reſtrain theſe fooliſh and deſtructive projects. But circumſtances were at preſent totally changed: France had not only repelled her inſolent invaders, but the emperor was in danger of being attacked in his hereditary dominions; and France was now the nation whoſe vaſt

vaſt preponderancy threatened the balance of power and the liberties of Europe. All the feelings which had been originally intereſted in her favor were now excited againſt her, and all impartial perſons wiſhed to ſee the armies of France in their turn compelled to abandon their conqueſts, and regarded the archduke with emotions of affection and admiration, as the glorious and patriotic defender of his native country.

The two invading armies continued their march without meeting any conſiderable reſiſtance, till that of the Rhine and Moſelle, after taking poſſeſſion of Ulm, Donawert, and other towns in the ſame direction, arrived, Auguſt the 24th, on the banks of the Lech, a large river running into the Danube, and which divides the circles of Suabia and Bavaria. Here a body of Auſtrians were poſted near Augſburg, who diſputed the paſſage very gallantly; but the high fortune of the French prevailed, and general Moreau, entering Bavaria in triumph, took poſſeſſion of Munich on the 27th. In the mean time the archduke had directed his chief attention to the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, under the command of general Jourdain; and contenting himſelf to remain upon the defenſive, ſtrongly entrenched on the right of the Ihn, a ſtream flowing parallel with the Lech, ſent very ſtrong reinforcements to general Wartenſleben, who commanded on that ſide of the Danube. In conſequence of this ſeaſonable junction, the Auſtrian general attacked, Auguſt 22, the van of Jourdain's army, which had arrived within a few days' march of Ratiſbon, with forces ſo ſuperior, that general Bernadotte, who conducted it, was compelled to fall back in confuſion upon the main body, which, in the face of a victorious enemy, and in the midſt of a country rendered univerſally hoſtile by the injuries and the depredations they had ſuſtained, cut off from all communication with France, diminiſhed in its numbers, and hopeleſs of effecting the intended junction with Moreau, had no option but to retreat. This was not

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accompliſhed without extreme difficulty and very great loſs. The inhabitants of the countries through which they had marched now ſeized with eagerneſs the favorable moment to retaliate upon the French army, which, loaded with the fruit of their rapine, were more ſedulous to eſcape with their ſpoils than to incur any further riſk of loſing their treaſure, together with their lives. The Auſtrian troops alſo hung on the rear and flanks of the French ſo cloſely, that no reſpite was allowed them; almoſt daily conflicts took place, nor did Jourdain think his army in ſafety, till, repaſſing Bamberg and Wurtzburg, he gained the banks of the Lower Rhine. In an action near Altenkirchen the French loſt a moſt able officer in general Marceau, a young man whoſe gallant conduct and riſing talents had excited the admiration of his generous adverſary the archduke, who cauſed all military honors to be paid to his memory. By this retreat of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe the ſituation of that of the Rhine and Moſelle was rendered extremely critical, as the left flank of Moreau was left uncovered, and a part of the Auſtrian forces were falling into his rear, while freſh battalions advanced on the ſide of the Tyroleſe, ſeeming to threaten the ſurrounding him—the archduke ſteadily maintaining his poſition in front, inſulated as he now was in the centre of Germany, and the garriſons of Mentz, Manheim, and Philipſburg, ſtill remaining in the hands of the enemy. General Moreau had indeed ventured to croſs the Iſer, in the hope that his farther advances to Vienna would incite the archduke to change his poſitions, and enable Jourdain to reſume the attack. But finding that his imperial highneſs had joined, September 1ſt, the army of general Kray at Bamberg, and that the defeat of Jourdain was in conſequence complete, he ſaw the neceſſity of concentrating his forces, in order to provide for his own ſafety. He immediately withdrew his troops in the beſt order from the electorate of Bavaria, and, repaſſing the Lech, encamped in a ſtrong poſition between

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tween the city of Ulm and the Lake of Conſtance. Preſſed both in front and rear, he determined to give battle to the enemy, and on the 3d of October he gained at Stenhauſen a deciſive victory over the Auſtrian general Latour, making no leſs than five thouſand men priſoners. But this advantage was far from extricating him from the great and numerous dangers with which he was environed; ſince the archduke had ſucceeded in cutting off all communication with the Rhine, by ſeizing upon thoſe paſſes in the Black Foreſt through which Moreau had to retreat, and in gaining poſſeſſion of the Villes Foreſtières, which lay on the Rhine, and which bounded the Swiſs territory. An advanced body of Auſtrians, under the generals Nauendorf and Petraſch, lay in wait to attack the French in front; while general Latour, now ſtrengthened by reinforcements, purſued them cloſely in the rear. At the entrance of the Black Foreſt the mountains riſe ſo boldly, and the defile through which Moreau attempted to force a paſſage was ſo narrow, that ſcarcely could fifty men march abreaſt. Attacked as he was on all ſides, he ſucceeded beyond all previous expectation and probability in repulſing the efforts of the enemy; and, in the face of the greateſt dangers and the moſt powerful oppoſition, he at length brought his army, without any material loſs, to Fribourg, through a hoſtile country 300 miles in extent—making a moſt courageous and lion-like retreat, often turning upon his purſuers, defeating them in a variety of conflicts, and taking very many priſoners, colors, and cannon.

The winter drawing on, general Moreau abandoned the Briſgau, and paſſed the Rhine at Briſac and Huninguen, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the fortreſs of Kehl, the trenches before which were opened by the archduke November 25. It was defended with heroic bravery by general Deſaix, and was not reduced till the end of the year, the works being converted into an heap of ruins. Thus ended the expedition of the French into the imperial territory; and thus

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ſucceſsful were the Auſtrians, under the gallant conduct of their young commander, in overthrowing the gigantic plans of conqueſt formed in the delirium of uninterrupted proſperity by an exaſperated and formidable enemy.

The campaign in Italy this ſummer was ſtill more intereſting and important than that of Germany. During the three preceding years the French had attempted in vain to pierce through Piedmont into the interior of Italy. The immenſe barrier of mountains which divide that country from Savoy ſeemed to oppoſe an inſurmountable obſtacle to their progreſs. The republicans were indeed in poſſeſſion of the coaſt from Nice to Genoa; but the paſſes into Lombardy were guarded with ſuch care, that no apprehenſion ſeemed to be entertained by the court of Turin, with reſpect to the future. But in conſequence of the magnificent plan of military operations formed this year by Carnot, formerly war-miniſter, and now a member of the Directory, great reinforcements were ſent to the army of Italy, and the command of it entruſted to a young officer of the name of Buonaparte, a native of Corſica, whoſe extraordinary talents had upon divers recent occaſions recommended him to the notice, and had obtained him the confidence, of that moſt diſcerning judge of merit.

The firſt action of the Italian campaign took place near Savona, on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, in the vicinity of which the French general occupied a poſt at Voltri, ſixteen leagues diſtant from Genoa. In this ſituation he was attacked (April 9, 1796), by the Auſtrian and Sardinian army under general Beaulieu, and driven back to his lines near Savona. Preſuming on their ſucceſs, the Auſtrians advanced rapidly in the hope of cutting off the retreat of the French troops. General Buonaparte, foreſeeing the probability of this ſanguine purſuit, detached a body of troops under general Maſſena, who, taking advantage of the night, gained the rear of the Auſtrian army. General Beaulieu began the attack near Montenotte at break of day.

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The ſucceſs was various, until the diviſion under Maſſena appeared on the left flank and rear of the enemy. Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected manœuvre, the Auſtrians were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and fled the field with the loſs of 3,500 men, of whom 2,000 were made priſoners. This victory was followed by another far more ſignal and deciſive near the village of Milleſimo. General Buonaparte puſhing forward to the banks of the Bormida, the Auſtrians, retreating to the paſſes of the mountains on the left of this river, halted at Milleſimo, and fortified the defiles leading to it. Theſe were aſſaulted April 11th, with great impetuoſity, by general Augereau, and forced after a vigorous reſiſtance. General Provera, with his diviſion of 1,500 Auſtrian grenadiers, throwing himſelf into the ruins of an old caſtle, defended his poſt with ſuch reſolution for ſeveral days, that the Auſtrian army had leiſure to rally, and take new poſitions. On the 17th of April a general engagement took place, and the generals Maſſena and La Harpe, paſſing the Bormida, ſurrounded the left wing of the Auſtrian army, a great ſlaughter enſued, and 8,000 men were made priſoners, with thirty-two pieces of cannon. General Provera was immediately obliged, with his brave diviſion, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

On the following day general Beaulieu ſurpriſed the French, repoſing in full ſecurity after the fatigues of battle, at Dego on the banks of the Bormida, but was nevertheleſs repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The Piedmonteſe and Sardinian army now retreated with precipitation towards Turin, being ſucceſſively driven from the poſts of Ceva, Mondovi, and Cheraſco. The French troops being within two days' march of that capital, his Sardinian majeſty propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was agreed to on terms dictated by general Buonaparte. A definitive treaty was ſoon after concluded by the king of Sardinia with the French government at Paris, by which Savoy and Nice were ceded for ever to the republic; the cities of Coni, Aleſſandria, and

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and Tortona, delivered provisionally into their hands; and the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier, were totally demolished, leaving the passage to Italy at all times open to the troops of the republic. The hard fortune of the king of Sardinia was the less to be lamented, as, by taking, unprovoked, an early and decided part with the enemies of France, this monarch had entirely departed from those rules of prudence which had in general marked the conduct of the princes of the house of Savoy, whose pride and policy it was to hold the balance of Italy between the two great powers of France and Austria.

The aristocracy of Venice, which, thinking itself hitherto little interested in the events of the war, had manifested an impolitic partiality to Austria, now perceived the necessity of bending before the genius of the Gallic democracy. The count de Provence, eldest brother of the late king of France, and who, since the death of the infant dauphin, had assumed the empty title of Louis XVIII. had resided for some time past in the city of Verona. This phantom of a king now received orders from the Venetian government to withdraw from their territories. On the delivery of the message he asserted his privilege as a Venetian nobleman; but offered to depart on receiving the sword of Henry IV. presented by him to the republic, and on the farther condition of the erasure of his name from *the Golden Book*. The podesta replied, "that the latter, at his request, would be easily granted, but the sword of Henry IV. was retained as a pledge for a debt of 12 millions due from him to the republic."—After wandering about Europe for many months, this unfortunate prince found at last an asylum at Mittau in Courland, where, under the magnificent protection of the court of Petersburg, he was enabled to form a permanent establishment.

In consequence of the repeated disasters experienced by general Beaulieu, that commander determined to retire beyond the Po; and passing that river at Valenza, he labored assiduously

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aſſiduouſly to ſecure himſelf from the expected attack of the French at that poſt. General Buonaparte, marching along the ſouthern bank of that river, reached Placentia early on the 7th of May, and effected his paſſage at that place in the courſe of the ſame day. Apprized of the approach of the Auſtrians, who moved along the northern bank of the Po, general Buonaparte encountered the vanguard of their army at Fombio, which was compelled to retreat with loſs. Another body, coming up to the aſſiſtance of the firſt, was intercepted and repulſed by general La Harpe; but this advantage was ſeverely purchaſed by the death of this accompliſhed officer, who had in 1791, being then an inhabitant of the Pays-de-Vaud, been condemned to death by a judicial commiſſion appointed by the magiſtracy of Berne, merely for the conſpicuous part he had taken as a friend and advocate of the French revolution. General Berthier arrived in the interval, and purſued the enemy to Caſal, of which he took poſſeſſion. The dukes of Parma and Modena, on whoſe territory the French had entered, were now compelled to ſue for peace, which was granted on the condition of paying ten millions of livres, and yielding up a certain number of paintings to adorn the national muſeum, now forming at Paris.

The Auſtrians defeated at Fombio had made good their retreat to Lodi, on the river Adda, where general Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. On the approach of the French they abandoned the town with ſo much haſte that they had not time to deſtroy the bridge, which was however defended by a moſt formidable artillery; and the imperial troops were drawn up (May 10), in line of battle to oppoſe the paſſage. The major part of the French generals gave it as their opinion that an attempt to force the paſſage would be too hazardous; but general Buonaparte, apprehending that pernicious conſequences might ariſe from a retreat, gave inſtant and peremptory orders for the aſſault. Before day-break a column of carabineers, followed by another

ther of grenadiers, paſſed the bridge half way, when a general diſcharge of the Auſtrian artillery took place, and deſtroyed about 700 men. The column ſeemed to be ſtruck with terror—when general Buonaparte in perſon appeared at their head, and, inſpiring freſh courage by the enthuſiaſm of his example, they ruſhed forward with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, amid the cries of "*Vive la République!*" breaking the Auſtrian line, ſeizing the batteries, and in a moment diſſipating the Imperial troops, who were petrified with aſtoniſhment at the ſucceſsful madneſs of the enterpriſe: and Buonaparte himſelf acknowledged, in his diſpatches to the Directory, that of all the actions in which he had been engaged, none equalled the terrible paſſage of the Bridge of Lodi. While one part of the French army purſued Beaulieu towards Mantua, of which they formed the blockade, the reſt entered Milan, the capital of Auſtrian Lombardy, on the 18th of May, the citadel nevertheleſs holding out for ſome weeks.

The diſperſion of the Auſtrian army gave the French general leiſure to carry on his various enterpriſes againſt the reſpective ſtates of Italy. A detachment of troops took poſſeſſion of Leghorn on the 28th of June, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of diſlodging the Engliſh, whoſe property was confiſcated to the republic, while the main army entered the territory of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and without reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of the cities of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Both the pope and the king of Naples now ſued for an armiſtice, which was granted to his Sicilian majeſty, with whom the French had no wiſh to be at variance, on the eaſy condition of withdrawing all aſſiſtance from the allied army. But the pope was obliged not merely to cede the towns in poſſeſſion of the French, but the city and fortreſs of Ancona on the Adriatic; alſo to pay the ſum of 21 millions of francs; and to deliver one hundred pictures, buſts, ſtatues, or vaſes, at the option of the commiſſioners who ſhould be ſent to Rome for that purpoſe,

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purpoſe, to be depoſited as trophies of war, and ornaments of peace, in the national muſeum of France.

The court of Vienna, confounded and alarmed at the progreſs of the French in Italy, now conferred the chief command of all their force in that country upon that brave and experienced officer marſhal Wurmſer, who, aſſembling the ſhattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and ſtrengthening them with great reinforcements, croſſed the Adige towards the end of July, and attacked the poſts of Sala and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the blockade of which was immediately raiſed by the French, and not without conſiderable loſs. The Auſtrians, emboldened by this ſucceſs, made themſelves maſters of the immenſe magazines formed by the French near Breſcia, and, by the ſkilful exertions of the new general, in a great meaſure cut off the communication of the French army with the Milaneſe.

The reigning pope, Pius VI. a man of warm paſſions, and totally devoid of political diſcernment or diſcretion, no ſooner received the intelligence of theſe ſucceſſes, than he ſent his vice-legate to take poſſeſſion of Ferrara, now evacuated by the French, notwithſtanding the ſage and friendly remonſtrances of the chevalier Azzara, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, a man of an highly-enlightened mind and excellent talents, who juſtly repreſented this ſtep as a direct violation of the armiſtice between his holineſs and the republic. The Ferrareſe ſeemed by no means delighted in thus reverting to the papal dominion, and it was not without difficulty that they would permit the arms of the Roman government to be reſtored. General Buonaparte, ſeeing himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, ſuddenly withdrew his troops from Verona and the banks of the Adige, and by a forced march regained poſſeſſion of Breſcia. He then collected his forces near the village of Caſtiglione, between the Lake of Garda and the city of Mantua, marſhal Wurmſer having likewiſe taken a poſition in the ſame vicinity. The two armies joined battle on the 5th of Auguſt with the moſt obſtinate

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ſtinate reſolution. The conflict was renewed on the next and ſeveral following days; but it terminated at length in the total defeat of the Auſtrians, who were obliged to repaſs the Adige with very great loſs, leaving the country around Mantua in poſſeſſion of the French, who again formed the blockade of that important place. One great cauſe of the loſs of this battle was the defection of ſeveral brigades of Poliſh troops who ſerved in the Imperial army, but who were afterwards formed into a legion, and entered into the ſervice of the French republic. Upon this misfortune general Wurmſer retreated to the paſſes of the Tyrol, whither he was followed by general Brune. And on the 4th of September the Auſtrians were again attacked in their entrenched camp of Mori, which they were compelled to abandon, with the city of Roveredo, where they had eſtabliſhed their magazines, and take refuge in the ſtrong poſt of Calliano, not far diſtant from the city of Trent. But in this almoſt-impregnable poſition they were once more aſſailed by general Maſſena, who, after a long and obſtinate conflict, defeated the Auſtrians, reducing them to the neceſſity of retiring, with the loſs of 6,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon, to the valley of the Brenta. General Buonaparte, inſtead of attempting the impracticable paſſes of the Tyrol, cloſely purſued the Auſtrians to the banks of the Brenta; and at Baſſano, on that river, the Imperialiſts again ſuffered a total diſcomfiture; but by rapid and inceſſant marches general Wurmſer, fighting his way through the enemy, ſucceeded in gaining the city of Mantua, into which he threw himſelf and the remnant of his wearied and ſhattered army.

Genoa, after repeated efforts to maintain her neutrality, was compelled to yield to the menaces of the French; and, by a convention ſigned October 9, agreed to ſhut up her ports againſt the Engliſh. Treaties of peace were formally ratified with Naples and Parma; but it was found difficult to conclude a final ſettlement with the pope, of whom very hard

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hard conditions were exacted. He was required to set at liberty all persons, whether French or natives, who were held in confinement on account of political opinions; to desist from all persecution on account of religious opinions; to abolish the tribunal of the Inquisition; to renounce all title to Avignon and the Vanaissin; to pay 300,000 livres per month during the war; to leave Ferrara and Bologna, with their legations, to the disposal of the French; to concede various specified commercial advantages; and to give to all these conditions a prompt and unreserved assent. The pope held a congregation of cardinals to deliberate on the terms thus offered, who unanimously agreed that they were subversive both of the rights of religion and sovereignty; and a rejection immediately followed.

At this period all Italy seemed to be heaving from its political basis. The government of Naples, to which such favorable conditions of peace had been recently granted, because it did not suit the views or interests of the French to carry their arms into that distant quarter, was known to be sunk to the lowest pitch of imbecility and depravity. The tyranny of papal Rome, consolidated by the ignorance and folly of successive ages, now manifestly tottered to its fall; and Lombardy, divided amidst a number of petty despots, catching the strong contagion of the revolutionary spirit, aspired to the rank and dignity of a free and independent nation. The whole country south of the Po, Genoa excepted, now in possession of the French, appointed delegates, to the number of one hundred, to meet in convention at the city of Modena; the ducal government being previously dissolved, and the duke of Modena himself, notwithstanding his armistice with France, having abandoned his territory, and virtually abdicated his sovereignty. The Convention met on the 16th of October, 1796, and immediately decreed that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the four states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara—the new federation taking, from its geographical situation, the

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the name of the Ciſpadane Republic. And, with the approbation of the French general, a delegation was ſent to Milan, ſtyled by them the Tranſpadane Republic, in order to eſtabliſh between the two powers the bands of political union and fraternity. In return, the adminiſtrators of the proviſional government of Milan were permitted to ſend deputies to the general congreſs of the Ciſpadane Confederacy, now removed to Reggio, and which, about the end of the year, reſolved themſelves henceforth into a republic, one and indiviſible, on the model of France.

In the mean time the emperor, anxious to the laſt degree for the fate of general Wurmſer and the numerous garriſon incloſed in the garriſon of Mantua, ordered field-marſhal Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation for military talents, and the third commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in Italy during this campaign, to aſſemble an army on the borders of the Tyrol, deſcending thence in two grand diviſions along the Adige and Piava to Verona, which was the head-quarters of the French army. Marſhal Alvinzi, who commanded in perſon the latter diviſion, having paſſed the Piava and Brenta, encountered the van of the French conducted alſo in perſon by general Buonaparte, who, after a ſharp conflict, compelled his antagoniſt to repaſs the Brenta. But the Tyrol diviſion having defeated the forces oppoſed to them under general Vaubois, it became neceſſary for Buonaparte to retreat, in order to defend the paſſes of the Adige. The Auſtrian general, now thinking the junction of the two diviſions infallible, flattered himſelf with the ſanguine hope of raiſing, in a ſhort time, the blockade of Mantua; but general Buonaparte, diſcerning clearly the fatal conſequences of ſuch an event, reſolved immediately to riſk a general attack on the army of Alvinzi, which had again advanced as far as the Adige. Croſſing therefore that river in the night of the 4th of November, the French general advanced early in the morning to the village of Arcole, through which he muſt neceſſarily force his paſſage in order to execute

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ecute his plan. The village was ſtrongly ſituated amid moraſſes and canals; and the bridge which led to it was defended with every effort of military ſkill and valor. For the whole day the conteſt was continued to the manifeſt diſadvantage of the French, who loſt in the attempt ſome of their beſt officers, and a very great number of men. At length a detachment of the French, taking a long circuit, carried the village by an impetuous aſſault in the rear, but the Auſtrians had previouſly withdrawn their artillery and baggage. The way being now open, on the 6th of November, at daybreak, the French commenced a general action: the centre of the Auſtrians ſoon gave way, but, the wings being ſecured by the ſtrength of their poſition, no material impreſſion could be made. In the night, general Buonaparte cauſed bridges to be thrown over the impracticable parts of the moraſs, and the next morning the battle was renewed with tenfold fury; but, by a ſeries of ſkilful manœuvres, the French having turned the flanks of the Auſtrian army, and a corps placed in ambuſcade falling upon their rear, a general confuſion took place, and the Auſtrians fled on all ſides, and a complete though bloody victory was gained. "Never," ſaid general Buonaparte in his diſpatches, "was field of battle ſo valorouſly diſputed as that of Arcole." The other diviſion under general Davidovitch, which had obtained ſignal advantages over general Vaubois, and had advanced within a ſhort diſtance of Mantua, were now obliged, by general Buonaparte, who joined Vaubois in perſon with reinforcements, to fall back with conſiderable loſs into the mountains of the Tyrol. General Alvinzi now again repaſſed the Brenta, leaving Mantua to its fate; but the gallant veteran, Wurmſer, continued to defend that important fortreſs with invincible pertinacity.

Notwithſtanding the unfortunate iſſue of Alvinzi's expedition, the pope did not ſeem the more inclined to accede to the terms of accommodation offered to him. Previous to the battle of Arcole, general Buonaparte had written with

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with his own hand (October 26), a letter to cardinal Mattei, archbiſhop of Ferrara, entreating him to repair to Rome, and prevail, if poſſible, upon his holineſs to reflect upon the nature of his ſituation and the neceſſity of acting conformably to his true intereſt, and declaring that peace was the wiſh of the republic. At the end of ſix weeks an anſwer arrived from the cardinal, ſtating, "that his holineſs, as ſovereign pontiff and depoſitary on earth of the precepts promulgated by the Saviour of Mankind, had ever been ſolicitous for the preſervation of harmony in the great family of Chriſtians; that he had felt the extremeſt ſorrow in ſeeing France delivered up to ſuch wild exceſſes, and the children of the church plunging themſelves into ſuch horrible diſorders; that the gentleneſs with which he had treated theſe wanderers from the fold of Chriſt was ſo far from having its due effect, that, blinded by the ſucceſs of their arms, the French government had exacted from him the overthrow and total deſtruction of religion, the Goſpel, and the church; that his holineſs, after devoutly aſking counſel of God, and recalling to mind the example of the antient martyrs, was decided to try the chance of war." To give efficacy to this deciſion, extraordinary levies were ordered to be made in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The papal army was likewiſe reinforced by a conſiderable corps of German troops, and count Colli appointed to the chief command. The warlike ardor of the pope ſeemed, however, to all but himſelf, more an object of ridicule than apprehenſion. Very many of his ſubjects awaited with impatience the arrival of the French legions; and the inhabitants of the imperial city of Rome, who had imbibed the prevailing revolutionary ſpirit, triumphed in the ſanguine expectation of the reſtoration, after the lapſe of ſo many ages, of the Roman republic, in all the faſcination of its ancient forms and titles.

The naval and miſcellaneous events of the preſent campaign are yet to be related. Since the autumn of 1793, ſeveral

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veral posts had been maintained in the island of St. Domingo, with great difficulty, and at an immense expense of blood and treasure to Great Britain. In six months after the landing, it was computed that six thousand lives, including 130 officers, had been lost by that horrid pestilential disorder known by the name of the yellow-fever. The *gens de couleur*, and negroes, who possessed the whole power of the island, and had expelled or extinguished the white inhabitants, contenting themselves with the quiet enjoyment of the interior of the country, suffered the English to retain their fatal conquests on the coast.

In the month of May the island of St. Lucia was recovered by the exertions of general Abercrombie, not without a vigorous resistance on the part of the Frenc hgarrison. The insurrections, also, excited chiefly by the insidious arts of the celebrated Victor Hugues, in the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, &c. were finally quelled, after much bloodshed.

A French squadron under the French admiral Richery, notwithstanding the great naval superiority of England, found means to succeed in an expedition to Newfoundland, where they burnt and destroyed British property to a vast amount. On the other hand, the Dutch squadron equipped early in the spring, for the purpose of re-capturing the colony of the Cape, under the command of admiral Lucas, sailed for greater security north about, and at length arrived, after a prosperous voyage, at Saldanha Bay, where they were attacked by admiral Elphinstone, who had been sent from England in order to intercept them. The crews of the different vessels mutinying against their captains, and declaring themselves in the interest of the prince of Orange, insisted upon their being delivered up to the English, which the Dutch admiral was obliged to comply with. The squadron consisted of seven sail of ships of war of different force.

In the course of the present year, also, the greatest part of the Dutch settlements in the East fell almost without resistance

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ſiſtance into the hands of the Engliſh; amongſt the reſt Trincomale in the iſland of Ceylon, inferior in importance only to the city of Batavia.

In the month of October, the iſland of Corſica, the favorite conqueſt of the war, was evacuated by the Engliſh. Although, when the reign of Jacobiniſm was at the height, the Corſican nation appeared paſſively to acquieſce in the dominion of the king of Great Britain, no ſooner was a regular government eſtabliſhed in France than they ſhewed their extreme ſolicitude to be re-united to that country, and to ſhake of their new allegiance. The victories of Buonaparte carried to the height the popular enthuſiaſm. The viceroy, ſir Gilbert Elliot, perceiving, in the courſe of a tour which he ventured to make into the interior of the iſland, not without perſonal hazard, the univerſal fermentation which prevailed, and dreading a ſudden exploſion—the Corſicans, now joined by a body of French under general Gentili, having aſſembled in great force—gave notice that he was preparing to withdraw his troops. At Baſtia, and St. Florenzo, however, this was not done without ſome reſiſtance and bloodſhed: a great part of the magazines alſo fell into the hands of the enemy. Immediately the Corſicans, forming themſelves into primary aſſemblies, ſent a deputation to the French commiſſioners in Italy, formally to renounce the title of ſubjects of the king of England, and to renew their oaths as citizens of the French republic. Thus in a moment vaniſhed this tranſient farce and phantom of royalty; and thus did the red republican cap of liberty ſuperſede and diſplace that moſt egregious and ridiculous bauble, the crown of Corſica.

Ever ſince the unfortunate recall of lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, that kingdom had been in a ſtate of lamentable diſtraction, of which the French demonſtrated their eagerneſs to make all poſſible advantage. An armament had been for a long time preparing in the harbour of Breſt, intended to cover a deſcent into that country; but, from various

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various unavoidable cauſes of delay, it did not ſail till the 10th of December. It conſiſted of no leſs than eighteen ſhips of the line and thirteen frigates, and was commanded by vice-admiral Bouvet, having under convoy a great fleet of tranſports, with 25,000 men on board, under the conduct of the celebrated general Hoche. Nothing but misfortunes attended this attempt, which the ſeaſon of the year rendered very dangerous. On its firſt departure ſeveral of the ſhips of war were loſt or materially damaged in the paſſage of the Raz; and a hard gale ſpringing up, the commander-in-chief was ſeparated from the body of the fleet, which caſt anchor, in a very ſhattered ſtate, in Bantry Bay. After waiting ſome days in vain for the arrival of general Hoche, who was the only perſon entruſted with the orders of government, the admiral determined to return to Breſt, which he effected with great difficulty, one ſhip of the line and two frigates foundering at ſea. Another ſhip of the line was driven on the coaſt, and a frigate captured by the Engliſh. The only conſolation remaining to the French was, that the project was fruſtrated not by the naval power of England, but by the dreadful hoſtility of ſtorms and tempeſts. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this projected invaſion was the violently inimical diſpoſitions which manifeſted itſelf with reſpect to the invaders on the part of the inhabitants of Ireland, notwithſtanding their preſent ſtate of diſcontent, reſentment, and ſuppoſed diſaffection. The accounts publiſhed by the government, which were confirmed by many private letters, ſtated, that the diſpoſition of the country where the troops had aſſembled was as favorable as poſſible; that the greateſt loyalty had diſplayed itſelf throughout the kingdom; that the country people had furniſhed the troops with proviſions, and all ſorts of accommodation, to facilitate their march; and that every demonſtration had been given of the zeal and ardor of the nation to oppoſe the enemy in every place where it could be imagined a deſcent might be attempted. "During

ing their march," ſays the lord-lieutenant in his official diſpatches to the duke of Portland, "the utmoſt attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they paſſed; ſo that in many places the meat provided by the commiſſioners was not conſumed. The roads which had been rendered impaſſable by the ſnow were cleared by the peaſantry." Doubtleſs theſe poor miſtaken people thought, that, after ſuch deciſive expreſſions of their loyalty, in ſuch critical circumſtances, the government might deem its ſecurity not endangered by reſtoring them to the rights of ſubjects and of citizens;—but they were doomed, by terrible experience, at once to diſcover and expiate their error.

While France, by the ſucceſs of her arms, was leſſening the number of her enemies in Europe, ſhe experienced great chagrin in finding her influence much on the decline in the United States of America. It was ſuppoſed that national honor, if not national gratitude, would have prevented the government of America from ſeizing the opportunity when the French republic was ſtruggling for her very exiſtence to throw itſelf into the arms of her moſt potent enemy. It was therefore with equal ſurpriſe and indignation that the French government heard of the concluſion of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay—the ſpirit of which was ſo evidently in oppoſition to the treaties already exiſting between America and France, that it was generally imagined, on both ſides of the Atlantic, an open breach between the two nations muſt have been the immediate conſequence. For ſome time paſt, the conduct of the American adminiſtration towards the Gallic republic had been cold and diſtant; nor did the recall and diſgrace of M. Genet, whoſe acts of perſonal diſreſpect to the preſident had induced the French government to make this ſolemn reparation, effect any change in its favor. A momentary gleam of reconciliation had been thrown acroſs this ſhade of diſcontent by the arrival at Paris of the new ambaſſador

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baſſador from the American ſtates, Mr. Monro—whoſe character was held in the higheſt eſtimation, and whoſe principles were known to be decidedly hoſtile to France. But the treaty concluded ſo ſoon afterwards with England taught the republic what confidence they ought to repoſe in a government with whom, as it was ſaid, intereſt and avarice were perceived to be the predominant motives of action. The treaty was affirmed to diſcover a diſpoſition altogether inimical to France, and the proviſions of it to be wholly incompatible with the faintest idea of amity. By the treaty of 1778, ſtill in force, the United States guarantied to France the poſſeſſion of their Weſt-India colonies;—by the treaty of 1795, they conſented that even ſupplies of proviſions ſent to thoſe iſlands ſhould be treated as illegal commerce. Still hopes were entertained that ſtipulations ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of France, ſo contrary to the ſpirit, not merely of amity, but of neutrality, would not have been ſanctioned by the American legiſlature. Notwithſtanding the predominance of Britiſh influence in the ſenate, and the determined diſlike of the preſident to the more recent conduct of France, there exiſted powerful reaſons for the refuſal of ſuch ratification: and all France heard with indignation of the governmental act which finally confirmed the treaty, which was attended with the aggravating circumſtance, that on the 7th of April (1796), a reſolution paſſed the houſe of repreſentatives, declaring the treaty in queſtion, "to be highly injurious to the intereſts of America, and that it was not expedient for that houſe to concur in paſſing the laws neceſſary to carry it into effect."—Yet, on the 30th of the ſame month, a vote of approval was carried, doubtleſs through the influence of the executive government, though by a ſmall majority. The Directory, however, had the prudence to abſtain from actual hoſtilities; but, regarding the Americans in the light of real, if not avowed, enemies, they made ſuch depredations on their trade, under different pretexts, as almoſt amounted to a commercial war: and a

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directorial arret was iſſued, 14th of Meſſidor, 4th year (July 3, 1796), expreſsly enjoining the French ſhips of war to obſerve the ſame conduct towards the veſſels of neutral nations as they had hitherto ſuffered with impunity from the Engliſh.

Toward the cloſe of the ſummer Mr. Monro was recalled from his embaſſy, to the great additional diſſatisfaction of the French government, which refuſed to receive his ſucceſſor, Mr. Pinckney, in the ſame capacity:—and M. Adet, the French reſident in Philadelphia, notified (November 23), to the American government, that the Directory had ſuſpended him from the exerciſe of his functions. But this was not till Adet had charged the governing powers "with permitting, by a perfidious condeſcenſion, the Engliſh to violate a right which the United States ought for their own honor and intereſt to defend, and preſenting to England a poniard to be uſed againſt the French republic, their ally, under the cloke of neutrality." The ſpeech of the preſident to Congreſs (December the 7th, 1796), ſeemed, on the other hand, to contain both a reflection and a menace in reſpect to France. After complaining of the extenſive injuries ſuffered by the American Congreſs from the cruiſers and agents of the French republic, and the alarming nature of the communications received from its miniſter, he expreſſes his hope "that a ſpirit of juſtice and candor on the part of that republic may *yet* eventually enſure ſucceſs to his earneſt endeavours for the preſervation of peace; but in purſuing this courſe he would not forget what was due to the character of the American government and nation." Such was the ſtate of things, when general Waſhington reſigned his government in the ſpring of 1797; and, retiring to his paternal ſeat on the banks of the Potowmac, again reſumed, after an illuſtrious diſplay of public virtues and talents, the character and ſtation of a private citizen. Whether, under the preſſure of thoſe perplexing embarraſſments in which he was involved during the latter years of

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of his adminiſtration, his conduct was perfectly correct, is a queſtion reſpecting which it may be allowable to pauſe. But, to uſe his own words, "at all events he had the conſolatory reflection that none could ſerve his country with purer intentions than he had done, or with a more diſintereſted zeal."

On the 1ſt of March, 1796, a National Convention of the inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces was ſummoned to meet at the Hague, and a conſtitution eſtabliſhed nearly upon the model of the French republic. One of the firſt acts of the new government was to declare war againſt England, which had long ſince authorized hoſtilities againſt Holland; and had, by this, deprived the Dutch of a great part of thoſe poſſeſſions, which it was pretended, by the moſt ſhallow of deceits, to be a chief object of the preſent war to protect and defend. The revolution in this country had been conducted upon principles of equity and moderation which did great honor to the leaders of it. Excepting the grand-penſionary, M. Van Spiegel, who was impriſoned, no one was puniſhed for his previous acts or opinions; nor was any diſpoſition manifeſted to retaliate upon thoſe who had been moſt deeply concerned in the ſevere proſecution of the patriots which took place after the ineffectual and unſeaſonable attempt of 1787. The conduct of the French government in relation to Holland was, upon the whole, candid and generous. The contributions exacted from the inhabitants were indeed heavy; but, conſidering the riches of the country, and the protection afforded them, could ſcarcely be regarded as exceſſive. The real wiſh of France was to attach the Dutch nation to her intereſts, as her friend and ally; and poſſeſſing all the power, and, if ſhe choſe to exerciſe them, all the rights of a conqueror, ſhe adopted the wiſe policy of avoiding any conſiderable or direct interference in the interior adminiſtration of their government, relying ſecurely upon the general diſpoſition which exiſted in her favor, upon their contempt of the abdicated ſtadtholder, and their inexpreſſible deteſtation of England.

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England. The National Aſſembly of Batavia, by which appellation the Dutch convention choſe to be diſtinguiſhed, decreed, in imitation of that of France, the abolition of the national church, reſolving henceforth to deſray the expenſe of no form of worſhip, but allowing penſions or indemnities to thoſe who might ſuffer by the preſent reform. Upon the whole, the policy of France reſpecting Holland at this period formed a ſtriking contraſt to that of Louis XIV. in the year 1672; and the military and other requiſitions of the French were in the higheſt degree favorable, when compared with the extravagant demands of that mercileſs tyrant, which were ſuch as to throw the republic into abſolute deſpair, determining thoſe who ſcorned to bow their necks to the yoke to renounce the country of their fathers, and to tranſport themſelves and their families acroſs the mighty deep, to ſeek, in the boſom of the Indian Ocean, an aſylum from royal bigotry and barbarity. But from this ſtate of extreme political depreſſion they were happily reſcued by the magnanimous exertions of a hero and patriot, whoſe name and memory will be revered as long as liberty and virtue ſhall be deemed worthy of the eſteem, or command the admiration, of mankind.

Although, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution of France, the perſons who compoſed the executive government ſeemed inclined to favor the faction of the Jacobins, the majority having been themſelves originally of the Mountain party, conceiving it expedient to adopt meaſures of ſeverity with reſpect to thoſe concerned in the inſurrection of Vendemaire, who were oppoſed to the faction of the Jacobins, it was ſoon apparent that the bulk of this dangerous faction would never peaceably acquieſce in the preſent, or indeed in any permanent order of things. The major part of the Jacobins who had been placed in offices immediately under the government, were gradually diſmiſſed; the police and municipality of Paris, where they poſſeſſed a decided aſcendency, underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny;

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ſcrutiny; the military force of that great city was reformed; and the alarm excited by theſe different meaſures was at length wrought up to the purpoſes of vengeance, when their aſſemblies were diſperſed by order of government, and their places of meeting ſhut up. For the ſpace of ſix weeks confuſed rumors prevailed of a projected inſurrection of the Jacobins. On the evening of the 9th of May (1796), conſiderable bodies of cavalry were ſtationed in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg and the Tuilleries, by order of the Directory; and the Pont Neuf was ſtrongly guarded. On the morning of the 10th, the guard of the Directory and the legiſlative bodies was tripled, the ſtreets were patroled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg were ſhut. On the ſame day the Council of Five Hundred received a meſſage from the Executive Directory, informing them that a horrible conſpiracy was prepared to burſt forth the following morning at break of day; that the deſign of the conſpirators was to murder the Executive Directory, the members of the two councils, the conſtituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and maſſacre; and that the leading conſpirators were actually ſeized. Among theſe perſons were, Drouet, remarkable as the man who had arreſted the king in his flight to Varennes; Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the National Convention, and a member of the infamous Committee of Safety; Charles, Ricard, and Babeuf, ſtyling himſelf Gracchus Babeuf, once the aſſociate of Marat of infamous memory, who had fallen under the virtuous dagger of a modern Judith; Roſſignol, ex-general of La Vendée; Amar, a notorious terroriſt, &c. were alſo of the number: but Vadier and Robert Lindet effected their eſcape. Judging from the papers tranſmitted by the Directory to the councils, none of the various conſpiracies which had convulſed the republic was more daring than the preſent, or had been more completely organized. A national convention, committees of general and public ſafety, and a municipality of Paris,

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Paris, were to be immediately formed, and to adminiſter in a revolutionary manner till the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1793. No doubt the aim of the Directory was to make the preſent conſpiracy appear as black and atrocious as poſſible; and there is indeed reaſon to believe that the foundations of it were both deeply laid and widely extended, but the timely diſcovery of this plot occaſioned the public alarm to ſubſide almoſt as ſoon as it was excited. Babeuf, and divers of his accomplices, were tried by the high criminal court at Vendome, convicted, and put to death. Inſurrections and diſturbances in different parts of the country, excited by the Jacobins, were quickly ſuppreſſed—the authority of the new government being, as uſual in ſuch caſes, more firmly eſtabliſhed by this abortive attempt to ſubvert it But the Jacobins and royaliſts throughout France joined in exclaiming againſt the tyranny of the Directory, and in repreſenting this plot, popularly ſtyled the Conſpiracy of Floreal, as having no real exiſtence.

The affairs of finance greatly occupied the attention of the French government at this period. The credit of the aſſignats had been ſo much depreciated as to render that paper altogether uſeleſs. An order was therefore made to ſell the remainder of the national domains at a low valuation, for which a new paper fabrication, under the name of *mandats*, was to be received in payment as money: but, owing to cauſes which foreigners are ill able to develope, this paper fell almoſt immediately to the ſame or even a greater degree of depreciation than the aſſignats. Recourſe was then had to the expedient of a forced loan, the produce of which fell far ſhort of expectation; and the ſanguine hopes of the Engliſh miniſter were again excited by the heavy and repeated complaints of the Directory of the impoveriſhed ſtate of the public revenue:—but perſons of deeper penetration were perfectly aware that the phyſical reſources of ſuch a country as France could never be really

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and truly exhauſted, and that, under the government of able men, the political means could never be wanting of bringing theſe reſources into action.

It being decreed, by an article of the new conſtitution, that no one ſhould be diſturbed in the exerciſe of religious worſhip, provided he conformed to the laws, the conſtitutional prieſts, who, during the Robeſpierrian tyranny, had been involved in one common proſcription with thoſe who refuſed the oaths to government, again took poſſeſſion of the churches, though unendowed, under the authority of the different communes. Meanwhile the non-juring prieſts continued to exerciſe their profeſſion, and found everywhere devotees who conſidered them as the only ſure guides in the road to ſalvation; and a great ſchiſm aroſe in France between the two ſects of Catholics. The conforming clergy, deſirous to preſerve their reputation for religious orthodoxy, which they held to be perfectly conſiſtent with an attachment to republicaniſm, had, ſo early as the ſpring of 1795, convened a kind of ſynod for the purpoſe of examining into the ſtate of the deſolated church, and to take meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the reſtoration of public worſhip. The biſhops who compoſed this ſynod, now reduced to the ſtate of primitive epiſcopacy, publiſhed a circular letter addreſſed to the Faithful in Chriſt, and containing a declaration of principles little differing from thoſe which had formed the creed of the Gallican church. The pope was admitted to be their viſible head; and the whole of the doctrines taught by the Apoſtolic and Roman church, defined by the œcumenical councils, and explained by Boſſuet, were adopted as the ſtandard of the Catholic faith. In the government of the church, epiſcopacy was acknowledged to be of divine original, and the authority exerciſed by the hierarchy was conſequently aſſerted to be of divine right. This authority they immediately exerciſed, by formally expelling from their communion ſuch as they adjudged to be unworthy of their profeſſion,

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ſion, or to have incurred in any mode the guilt of apoſtaſy during the late period of perſecution; amongſt whom they reckoned thoſe who had renounced their functions, or had contracted marriage. But the offence which moſt excited their indignation was what they were pleaſed to ſtyle the crime of LAICISM, which they defined to be the uſurpation of prieſtly offices, declaring it to participate of the double character of error and ſacrilege. The laymen, who were the objects of this prieſtly anathema, were thoſe who preſided at the religious aſſemblies of the people, where no eccleſiaſtic was to be found—a practice, during the violence of the Robeſpierrian perſecution, by no means uncommon in France. Poſſeſſing not the ſhadow of temporal power, or the remoteſt proſpect of acquiring it, this humble-minded ſynod declared, in a ſecond letter or addreſs publiſhed at the cloſe of the year, their authority to be merely ſpiritual. After denouncing their cenſures and anathemas, they avowed the diſtinctive characteriſtic of Chriſtianity to be charity! Reluctant to acknowledge any juriſdiction ſuperior to their own, they affirmed that the biſhop of Rome was firſt in dignity only, and not in power; and, the ſtorm of perſecution having yet ſcarcely ceaſed, they inculcated the principle of toleration with great earneſtneſs. Upon the whole, though there is no reaſon to doubt but that this ſelf-created ſynod might be compoſed of virtuous and reſpectable individuals, the ſpirit of prieſtly domination, alike in all ages, in all countries, and under all circumſtances, appeared extremely conſpicuous in all its proceedings; and the aſſembly being again convoked at Verſailles, in the month of March in the following year (1796), were immediately diſperſed by an order from the executive power. In all other reſpects the new government maintained a wiſe neutrality between the contending parties, and appeared to concern itſelf little or nothing in the conteſt.

Under the auſpices of the Directory a grand literary and ſcientific aſſociation, bearing the appellation of the National Inſtitute,

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Inſtitute, was at this period founded in France. At their firſt public meeting (April 4, 1796), in the great hall of the Louvre, the preſident of the Directory made a ſpeech, in which he declared it to be the ſtedfaſt purpoſe of the government to revive the drooping arts, and to ſhield both learning and liberty from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy. More than fifteen hundred ſpectators were preſent on this ſolemn occaſion, who teſtified their joy by the loudeſt acclamation. Deſaulx, preſident of the Inſtitute, replied, " that every member of that ſociety felt the moſt ardent deſire to concur in advancing the proſperity of the republican government, and would aim, in giving luſtre to their own names, to add ſplendor to that of their country;—that the republic of letters exiſted before the other, and its ſpirit could neither be enfeebled nor ſubdued; and that, amidſt thoſe whom it animated, the love of glory would ever be the ſupport of liberty." During the recital of this ſpeech every heart ſwelled with emotion, every eye melted in tears, at the ſad recollection of the paſt, combined with the ſoothing hopes of the future; and the magnificence of the ſpectacle ſuggeſted the intereſting idea of a great nation riſing, in a manner worthy of itſelf, from that abyſs of calamity in which ſhe had been ſo long loſt and overwhelmed.

In the ſpring of this year the Directory ſent over commiſſioners to inveſtigate the ſtate of the iſland of St. Domingo, according to whoſe report, towards the end of the ſummer, the deſolation which had overſpread this colony during five years of maſſacre and anarchy had now ceaſed, and perfect tranquillity was at length reſtored. By other concomitant accounts, however, it appeared that this tranquillity had been obtained by the almoſt-total extirpation of the white inhabitants, who, unfortunately for themſelves, had refuſed to ſubmit to the famous decree of emancipation, paſſed the 16th Pluvioſe, in the ſecond year of the republic (February 5, 1794). The negroes and *gens de couleur*

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couleur were in actual poſſeſſion of all the power and all the property of the iſland: and the tyranny ſo juſtly complained of, formerly in the planter, was now more inhumanly exerciſed by the ſlave, who, ſet looſe at once from all reſtraint, felt a ſavage thirſt for vengeance, which he gratified without control. Such was the fate of this fine country, once one of the principal reſources of the wealth of France; but which precipitate humanity, miſtaking the means for the end, and avaricious cruelty, oppoſing every alleviation of human miſery, had nearly ſucceeded in bringing to utter ruin. The French government deemed it expedient to acquieſce in a ſtate of things, which, in preſent circumſtances, they could not redreſs. The iſland was effectually defended by its preſent poſſeſſors from the invaſion of the Engliſh, deſtructive only to themſelves: and as they at the ſame time acknowledged, though in vague terms, the authority of the republic, hopes were no doubt entertained that ſuch a dependency upon France might be eventually preſerved as would anſwer the commercial purpoſes with a view to which this great and flouriſhing colony was founded; although many conceived that this extraordinary ſtate of things would more probably terminate in the eſtabliſhment of a great mulatto republic in the nobleſt iſland in the Weſtern Ocean.

The Engliſh government having promulgated at this period a declaration, allowing the exportation of goods to the Netherlands and the United Provinces, decrees were publiſhed by the two governments of France and Holland, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, the importation of Engliſh goods into the territories of the two republics. The Dutch in particular declared "this precarious favor to be the fruit of perfidy, and an inſult which ought to be rejected with indignation." But ſuch eſſential inconveniences reſulted to themſelves from this prohibition, that it was either ſilently evaded or fell gradually into neglect and diſuſe, and Great Britain ſtill ſupplied, either mediately or immediately,

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immediately, all Europe with the product of her immenſe commerce and induſtry.

In the month of Auguſt (1796), a moſt ſingular political phænomenon preſented itſelf in the Treaty of Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, concluded between the crown of Spain and the republic of France; and which, however incongruous ſuch a connection might at firſt view ſeem, was really founded on principles of ſound policy. France obtained commercial emolument, and Spain civil and political ſecurity. The two contracting powers mutually guarantied each other's poſſeſſions; and either power engaged, in caſe of attack, to furniſh the other with large ſuccours by ſea and land, to be at the diſpoſal of the requiring power. The treaty was proſpective merely, and to take place at the end of the preſent war, with the exception of England only—that being declared the only power againſt which Spain had direct grievances: and that his Catholic majeſty ſhould remain neuter with reſpect to the other powers armed againſt the republic. This was the certain prelude to a declaration of war on the part of Spain againſt Great Britain, which took place in a few weeks, the manifeſto of the king of Spain bearing date October the 5th. The cauſes of offence enumerated in this declaration, framed under the over-ruling influence of France, are for the moſt part, when conſidered as excitements to war, very frivolous; but they ſerved to prove that Spain, as well as all the other maritime ſtates of Europe, felt the greateſt jealouſy and reſentment at the manner in which Great Britain had exerciſed her naval ſuperiority. "By theſe inſults," ſays the Catholic king, "equally deep and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the univerſe that ſhe recogniſes no other laws than the aggrandizement of her commerce; and by her deſpotiſm, which has exhauſted my patience and moderation, ſhe has forced me, as well to ſupport the honor of my crown as to protect my people againſt her attacks,

attacks, to declare war againſt the king of England, his kingdom, and *vaſſals*."

A very important tranſaction of the preſent year, comprehended under the general miſcellaneous branch of arrangement, remains to be narrated. The Engliſh cabinet in the beginning of March, had commiſſioned its ambaſſador to the Helvetic States, Mr. Wickham, to enquire of the government of France, through the medium of M. Barthelemi, who had negotiated, and was ſtill negotiating, divers treaties of peace at Baſle, concerning its diſpoſition to enter into a negotiation; at the ſame time ſignifying that he was not authorized to enter into any diſcuſſion upon the ſubject of his note. M. Barthelemi was in a ſhort time inſtructed to anſwer, "that the executive government of France ardently deſired to procure for the republic a juſt, honorable, and ſolid peace; but that an indiſpenſable condition of it was the retaining poſſeſſion of thoſe conqueſts which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic. The Conſtitutional Act," ſays the official note of M. Barthelemi, "does not permit the Directory to conſent to any alienation of that which, according to the exiſting laws, conſtitutes the territory of the republic." Offence was taken, notwithſtanding the acceptance of the overture of England, at the ſecret and inſidious mode in which it was made. "The ſtep taken by Mr. Wickham," ſays M. Barthelemi, "would have afforded to the Directory a real ſatisfaction, if the declaration itſelf of his not having any power to negotiate did not give room to doubt of the ſincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. Is it that this ſtep has had no other object than to obtain for the Britiſh government the favorable impreſſion which always accompanies the firſt overtures for peace? May it not have been accompanied with the hope that they would produce no effect?"—Although the overture of the Engliſh court was certainly cold and diſtant, as the government of France did not in the firſt inſtance reject it, the impolicy,

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not to ſay the injuſtice, of ſuch a conſtruction, was manifeſt: and if the Engliſh miniſter was really inſincere, the conduct of the Directory furniſhed as plauſible a pretext as could be wiſhed for deſiſting from their pretended purpoſe. No ſooner was the anſwer to Mr. Wickham's note received by the court of London, than a declaration was publiſhed, containing a moſt acrimonious comment upon the principles compriſed in it. "This court," ſays the declaration, "has ſeen with regret how far the tone and ſpirit of that anſwer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any diſpoſition for peace. The inadmiſſible pretenſion is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws actually exiſting there may have compriſed under the denomination of French territory. To a demand ſuch as this is added an expreſs declaration, that no propoſal contrary to it will be made or even liſtened to; and even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the proviſions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations. While theſe diſpoſitions ſhall be perſiſted in, nothing is left for the king but to proſecute a war equally juſt and neceſſary." All this is doubtleſs very plauſible, and it bears the evident ſtamp and impreſſion of a miniſter who has been characteriſtically deſcribed as poſſeſſing every talent for the conduct of great affairs conſiſtent with cunning, and, as it might properly have been added, with pride and obſtinacy. But the whole procedure is, notwithſtanding, deſtitute of the real and eſſential marks of political ſagacity and ability.

For, *firſt*, if it were the ſincere intention and deſire of the government of Great Britain to re-eſtabliſh the relations of peace and amity with that of France, why ſhould the miniſters of England heſitate, in the firſt inſtance, to recogniſe the republic by name; whereas that obnoxious term was carefully and inſultingly avoided in the official note of Mr. Wickham. And, *ſecondly*, why ſhun a direct application to the French government, ſtating their own ſincere

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ſincere deſire of peace, on honorable terms, by an agent or ambaſſador authorized to enter upon the diſcuſſion? The Directory, however, acted fairly and openly in the avowal that no territory, united by the Conſtitutional Act to France, would be relinquiſhed by any ſubſequent treaty. The reaſon aſſigned for this determination might, with ſo captious an enemy as the court of London, have been better omitted; though, when ſuch a reſolution was once formed, it ſignified little to the adverſaries of France upon what baſis it reſted. The annexation of the provinces in queſtion to the republic was a reaſon valid only to themſelves; and the notification of it to England indicated merely that the reſolution was conſidered by the Directory as irreverſible. In reply to this reaſoning, it was undoubtedly ſufficient for England to ſay, that the ſame power which united could diſunite, and that the reſtoration of theſe provinces could not be, politically ſpeaking, impracticable. But it was altogether idle and ſuperfluous to enter into the inveſtigation of an abſtract queſtion. France declared herſelf irrevocably determined not to relinquiſh certain of her conqueſts, amongſt which, by far the moſt important in the view of England, were the Auſtrian Low Countries. It was for England to conſider whether it were more eligible to continue the war, or to accede with a good grace to this unpleaſant baſis of pacification. To enter into an argument reſpecting an abſtract politico-metaphyſic right, and eſpecially to urge it acrimoniouſly and reproachfully, could tend only to counteract and deſtroy that ſpirit of conciliation upon which the ſucceſs of any future negotiation muſt in a great degree depend. Had the fortune of the war proved favorable to England, and France had demanded the reſtoration of Corſica, no doubt the court of London would have replied in the language uſed by the Directory, that this reſtitution could not be complied with, for that Corſica had been *annexed* to the imperial crown of Great Britain. Had the Directory exclaimed againſt the abſurdity and arrogance

rogance of this anſwer, it might properly have been ſoftened and explained, by ſaying, that, undoubtedly, the annexation of Corſica to the Britiſh crown did not, politically ſpeaking, preclude its reſtoration by treaty to France, but that the act of annexation merely indicated the determination of the court of London never to relinquiſh this conqueſt. When great ſtateſmen differ, it is always about things really important, and never about mere words or forms of expreſſion.

Upon the whole, this overture, thus injudiciouſly and unſucceſsfully made, left an unfavorable impreſſion upon the minds of the French government and nation, which had been greatly embittered againſt England by many preceding events. Although the war had firſt broken out with Auſtria and Pruſſia, it was generally believed in France that the Engliſh cabinet had ſecretly fomented that quarrel, of which, in a ſhort time, it became the grand and almoſt only ſupport. Regarding England, therefore, as the ſource of all their calamities, the French could ſcarcely look towards that country without paſſionate reſentment for the deſolation and horrors of which it had been the cauſe, and which the Britiſh miniſtry ſtill appeared deſirous to perpetrate.—Such was the ſtate of things, when the court of London, alarmed at the critical ſituation of its ally the emperor, and the growing unpopularity of the war at home, made another attempt, either real or pretended, to effect a pacification with France.

On the 6th of September lord Grenville addreſſed a note to count Wedel-Jarlſberg, the Daniſh ambaſſador at London, requeſting that he would tranſmit, through the medium of his Daniſh majeſty's reſident at Paris, to the Executive Directory, the declaration incloſed, purporting "his Britannic majeſty's deſire to conclude a peace on juſt and honorable conditions, and demanding the neceſſary paſſports for a perſon of confidence whom his majeſty would ſend to Paris with a commiſſion to diſcuſs with

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the government there all the measures the most proper to produce so desirable an end." Had this been the mode of communication originally adopted, it would, no doubt, have proved acceptable: but, in the present temper of the Directory, the reply made—to use the expression of M. Kœnneman, the Danish resident, 'in a very dry tone'—was "that the Executive Government would not receive or answer any overture from the enemies of the republic transmitted through any intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might, upon the frontier, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris." The haughty demeanour of the court of London was, however, by this time, so much lowered, that, in compliance with the requisition of the Directory, passports were applied for in the manner and form specified; which were granted expressly "to the envoy of England, who shall be furnished with *full powers* not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them." Lord Malmesbury, who had been engaged under the name of sir James Harris in negotiations of some importance at Madrid, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere, and had acquired some reputation for diplomatic abilities, which, upon this occasion, were highly magnified, was nominated by his Britannic majesty to this important mission: and, on the 22d of October, his lordship announced to M. de la Croix, minister for foreign affairs, his arrival at Paris, as "plenipotentiary to the FRENCH REPUBLIC." Notwithstanding the coldness and reserve which marked the first acceptance of the English overtures, the natural and characteristic politeness of the French nation prevailed, and lord Malmesbury met personally with a most courteous reception.

On the 24th of October a memorial was presented by the British ambassador, stating, "that, in the opinion of his Britannic majesty, the principle of compensation would best

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ſerve as a baſis for the definitive arrangements of peace. Great Britain, ſays this boaſting memorial, from the uninterrupted ſucceſs of her naval war, finds herſelf in a ſituation to have no reſtitution to demand of France; from which on the contrary ſhe has taken eſtabliſhments and colonies of the higheſt importance, and of value almoſt incalculable. But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conqueſts to which his majeſty can be no leſs indifferent, as the moſt important intereſts of his people, and the moſt ſacred engagements of his crown, are eſſentially implicated therein. The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his deſire to reſtore repoſe to ſo many nations, induced him to conſider this ſituation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers juſt and equitable terms of peace, and ſuch as are calculated to enſure for the time to come the general tranquillity. It is on this footing then that he purpoſes to negotiate, by offering to make compenſation to France, by proportionable reſtitutions, for thoſe arrangements to which ſhe will be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt demands of the king's allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe."

To this overture, the Executive Directory, through the medium of M. de la Croix, returned a very embarraſſing anſwer. They obſerved "that if lord Malmeſbury would have agreed to treat ſeparately, as he was formally authorized by the tenor of his credentials, the negotiations might have been conſiderably abridged; that the neceſſity of balancing with the intereſts of the two powers thoſe of the allies of Great Britain multiplies the combinations, increaſes the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congreſs, the forms of which it is known are always tardy, and requires the acceſſion of powers which hitherto have diſplayed no deſire of accommodation, and have not given to lord Malmeſbury himſelf, according to his own declaration, any power to ſtipulate for them. Nevertheleſs the Execu-

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tive Directory, animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declares that, as soon as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the Executive Directory will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic."

The Directory appears to have perceived, certainly not without reason, that the court of London had no serious intention of acceding to the basis of pacification stated by M. Barthelemi to Mr. Wickham; and, in their reply to the memorial of lord Malmesbury, they plainly indicated their suspicions "that the British government had a double object in view,—to prevent by general propositions the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war by throwing an odium upon the republic;" and they declared without reserve "that they could not but perceive that the proposition of lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the former proposal of Mr. Wickham."

Lord Malmesbury, perplexed and confounded by this answer, wrote to his court for fresh instructions: and on the 12th of November he transmitted a second note or memorial to the Directory, in which, agreeably to the orders received during the interval, his lordship declared, "that, with regard to the offensive and injurious insinuations contained *in that paper*,* the king has deemed it far beneath his dignity

* Could the court of London have given full scope to its greatness on this occasion, the phraseology of the note would no doubt have been "that audacious paper."

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dignity to permit an anſwer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatſoever.—As to the difficulty ſtarted by the Directory, his lordſhip ſaid that there could be no queſtion but of a negotiation which ſhall combine the intereſts and pretenſions of all the powers who make a common cauſe with the king in the preſent war. In the courſe of ſuch a negotiation, the intervention, or at leaſt the participation of theſe powers, will doubtleſs become abſolutely neceſſary;—but it appears that the waiting for a formal and definitive authority on the part of the allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to diſcuſs even proviſionally the principles of the negotiation, would be to create a very uſeleſs delay."—On the very ſame day, M. de la Croix, in a note to lord Malmeſbury, declared himſelf "charged by the Executive Directory to invite him to point out, without the ſmalleſt delay, and expreſsly, the objects of reciprocal compenſation which he had to propoſe." To which lord Malmeſbury properly replied, "that, before the formal acceptation of this principle, or the propoſal on the part of the Executive Directory of ſome other principle which might equally ſerve as the baſis of a negotiation for a general peace, he could not be authorized to deſignate the objects of reciprocal compenſation."

After ſome ſmart altercation, calculated for no good purpoſe, lord Malmeſbury was informed by M. de la Croix, November 27, "that the propoſal contained in his note of the 12th of November involved in it an acknowledgment of the principle of compenſation; and that principle being now formally recogniſed, he was again invited to give a ſpeedy and categorical anſwer to the propoſal." It was not till the 17th of December, after again conſulting his court, that lord Malmeſbury ſtated the terms agreeably to which it was conceived that a treaty might be concluded on the baſis of mutual compenſation. Theſe terms, when ſpecified, appeared rather extraordinary, as reſolving themſelves into the ſingle condition that France ſhould reſtore all

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all her conqueſts in the Low Countries, Germany, and, Italy—and Great Britain her acquiſitions gained from that power in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies,—in other words into the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*; with the ſtrange proviſo annexed, "that if, in addition to this, his majeſty were to wave the right given him by the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of oppoſing the ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo to France, his majeſty would then demand, in return for this conceſſion, a compenſation which might ſecure, at leaſt in ſome degree, the maintenance of the balance of the reſpective poſſeſſions in that part of the world." —It ſeemed to involve in it a groſs abſurdity, in a time of open war, to make any mention of the ſtipulations of a treaty of peace. The article of the treaty of Utrecht referred to undoubtedly authorized Great Britain to interfere, in order to prevent the transfer of any of the Spaniſh colonies in the Weſt Indies to France, even ſuppoſing ſhe had on other cauſe of complaint or quarrel. But when ſhe was actually at war with thoſe powers, all previous ſtipulations and arrangements were neceſſarily and wholly ſuperſeded; and the conſent of Great Britain to a ceſſion which it was not in her power to prevent muſt be a matter of perfect indifference, if not rather of contempt and ridicule; at beſt a matter of mere form, for which nothing ought to be aſked, becauſe nothing of value was conceded. "Reſtitutions of any kind in favor of Holland, unleſs France would on her part re-inſtate that republic in all reſpects in the ſame political ſituation in which it ſtood before the war (lord Malmeſbury expreſsly declares, in a ſecond memorial delivered at the ſame time), could be admitted in ſo far only as they ſhall be compenſated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the ſecurity of the Auſtrian Netherlands!"

On the ſubject of theſe memorials lord Malmeſbury had a long conference with M. de la Croix, of which his lordſhip tranſmitted a very curious and minute account to his own court. The following are the moſt important particulars:—

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culars :—After perusing the memorials, the French minister said " that the plan of pacification proposed appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable objections, as requiring much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not leaving France in a situation of proportional greatness to the other powers of Europe. He said, the act of their constitution made it impossible for the republic to do what we required. The Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it: they could not be disposed of without flinging the nation into all the confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and that he was surprised at the demand, since he had in some of the late conversations fully explained the nature of their constitution."—Lord Malmesbury, in return, forcibly urged " that there existed a *droit publique* in Europe paramount to any *droit publique* they might think proper to establish within their own dominions; and that an obligation, at least equally binding, and equally public, existed between the king and the emperor, obliging them not to lay down their arms without the restitution of all the territories belonging to either before the war :—that, in case of necessity arising from losses and misfortunes, the *power* of cession must inhere in the executive government; and, if in that case, it equally existed in all others."

M. de la Croix finding himself perplexed in the attempts to confute these reasonings, changed his ground, and maintained, " that, from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the present government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions :* that,—by the partition of Poland,—Russia,

* In reading the account of this conference, it must never be forgotten that the Englishman and not the Frenchman is the narrator; and that it depends upon the art of the sculptor, whether the lion shall be represented as killing the man, or the man as killing the lion. It appears that M. de la Croix did not pretend to deny that the power of restitution was, in a political sense, inherent in the nation; but merely that it could not constitutionally be exercised by the Directory. In reply to lord Malmesbury's hypothetical case of necessity, M. de la Croix might *perhaps* think it sufficient to say that

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Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, had increaſed their power to a moſt formidable degree; that England by its conqueſts, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its ſtrength.—Your Indian empire alone," ſaid M. de la Croix with vehemence, "has enabled you to ſubſidize all the powers of Europe againſt us, and your monopoly of trade has put you in poſſeſſion of a fund of inexhauſtible wealth." The French miniſter farther aſſerted "that Belgium, by belonging to France, would remove what had been the ſource of all wars for two centuries paſt; and the Rhine being the natural boundary of France, would enſure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come." He at length intimated, "that an equivalent might be found for the emperor in the ſecularization of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, and ſeveral biſhoprics in Germany and Italy." He ſpake of making new electors; and named the ſtadtholder and the dukes of Brunſwic and Wirtemberg as perſons proper to replace the three eccleſiaſtical electors.—The tenor of his converſation leading to the total ſubverſion of the preſent Germanic ſyſtem, lord Malmeſbury declared theſe ideas to be altogether incompatible with the principles laid down by the emperor and king, as the baſis of the peace; at the ſame time hinting, that if, on all the other points, France agreed to the propoſals now made, it would not be *impoſſible* that ſome increaſe of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic ſide of her frontier; and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great acquiſition of ſtrength and power.—'M. de la Croix,' ſays lord Malmeſbury, 'here again reverted to the conſtitution, and ſaid that theſe countries were already conſtitutionally annexed to France. I replied, "that it was impoſſible in the negotiation

that neceſſity was a valid plea for any thing, but that no ſuch neceſſity actually exiſted; and that if, *in preſent circumſtances*, the Directory made the reſtitution in queſtion, they would deſerve impeachment:—and had not the French government a right to its *ſine qua non* as well as the Engliſh?

negotiation which we were beginning for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war; and that any acquisition or diminution of territory which had taken place among the belligerent powers, since it first broke out, must necessarily become subject-matter for negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final arrangements of a general peace."—"You then persist," said M. de la Croix," "in applying this principle to Belgium?" "I answered, MOST CERTAINLY: *and I should not deal fairly with you if I hesitated to declare, in the outset of our negotiation, that on this point you must entertain no expectation that his majesty will relax, or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France.*"—M. de la Croix replied, "he saw no prospect, in this case, of our ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of our negotiation."

'Passing to the affairs of Spain and Holland, lord Malmesbury mentioned, as still in force, the right vested in Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the session of St. Domingo to France; which M. de la Croix, regarding doubtless the stipulations of a treaty of peace as altogether superseded in a state of war, passed over with little notice: and when lord Malmesbury proposed that, in return for the *consent* of England to this cession, his Britannic majesty should retain Martinico, or St. Lucia and Tobago, M. de la Croix, astonished without doubt at the extravagance of the overture, and perfectly indifferent whether this consent was given or withheld, dismissed the subject.—In relation to Holland, M. de la Croix treated as impracticable any attempt at restoring the antient form of government. He acknowledged, however, that it was not to be expected Great Britain would consent to a full and complete restitution of the settlements conquered from the Dutch: and when lord Malmesbury suggested the little probability there was that the Cape and Ceylon would be restored, the French minister launched out into a labored dissertation upon their value, affirming that they would ultimately be of infinitely greater

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greater importance to England than the Netherlands to France; and that, if this claim was acquiesced in, France would hold her possessions in India entirely at the pleasure of England. Lord Malmesbury, on the other hand, professed to consider them merely as affording an addition of security to England, but no additional power of attack: and his lordship asserted farther, "that if these, *and a few other* of the settlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be insisted upon still, it was impossible not to consider the terms on which his majesty proposed peace to Holland as generous and liberal."—At the close of the conversation "M. de la Croix again asked me," said lord Malmesbury, "whether, in his report, he was to state the disuniting Belgium from France as a *sine qua non* from which his majesty would not depart?" I replied, "it MOST CERTAINLY *was a sine qua non from which his majesty would not depart*; and that any proposal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to France would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loss to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect." M. de la Croix repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked whether it would admit of no modification? I replied, "if France could not, in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view that the Netherlands must not be French, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration." M. de la Croix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully: *he repeatedly said that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one* WHICH *could* NOT BE OVERCOME.'

Upon reading with impartial attention the account given by lord Malmesbury of this famous conference, it seems strange to find his lordship conclude with saying, "that the impression which remained on his mind on parting with M. de la Croix, from the civility of his manner, and apparent

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rent readineſs to diſcuſs the ſubject, was, that the negotiation would go on, though he ſaw little proſpect of its terminating ſucceſsfully." On the contrary, from the circumſtances ſtated in the narrative itſelf, it was manifeſtly impoſſible that the negotiation could go on.—When the firſt overture was made by England in the preceding ſpring, France poſitively declared that ſhe would not relinquiſh the conqueſts which had been actually annexed to the territory of the republic. She had not ſince ſhewn the leaſt diſpoſition to recede from this declaration, againſt which the Engliſh miniſtry exclaimed, as violent, arbitrary and unjuſt. When, after an interval of ſix months, a ſecond propoſition for peace was made by England, ſurely France had reaſon to expect that the court of London would ſhew itſelf at length willing to treat upon that baſis which was eſſential to its attainment;—but ſhe found herſelf moſt egregiouſly deceived. A high and accompliſhed ambaſſador, as he was ſtyled, came to Paris profeſſedly inveſted with full powers to treat with the Directory. But the principle of compenſation, on which he wiſhed to ſet out, being admitted, it appeared that he had nothing to propoſe. An interval, however, being allowed to receive inſtructions, the plan of a general pacification was tranſmitted to him from London, which proved to be nothing more or leſs than a ſweeping propoſition founded on the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*. And it appearing, from the expreſs and repeated declarations of lord Malmeſbury, that the reſtoration of the Auſtrian Low Countries by the emperor, or at leaſt that the abſolute relinquiſhment of them by France, was a *ſine qua non* of the projected treaty, all the other modifications of the plan ſuggeſted by lord Malmeſbury were of no avail, and the negotiation was inſtantly at an end. On the next day, December 18, the Engliſh ambaſſador was required by M. de la Croix, in a cold and conciſe note, to give in his *ultimatum* officially in twenty-four hours, with a pointed and obvious reference to the *ſine qua non* of the Engliſh cabinet;

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binet; which lord Malmeſbury, in handſome and guarded terms, declined to do—offering, at the ſame time, to enter with candor into the diſcuſſion of the propoſals of his court, or of any counter-project which might be delivered to him on the part of the Executive Directory. A counter-project, however, in this caſe, where an irreconcileable difference was acknowledged to exiſt, muſt be altogether ſuperfluous: and M. de la Croix informed the ambaſſador, as before, "that the Executive Directory would liſten to no propoſals contrary to their conſtitution, their laws, and the treaties which bind the Republic:"—and notice was given to his lordſhip to depart from Paris in eight-and-forty hours; adding "that, if the Britiſh cabinet is deſirous of peace, the Executive Directory is ready to carry on the negotiations, according to the above-mentioned baſis, by the reciprocal channel of couriers."

On a review of this ſtrange negotiation, there appears, on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry, a very diſgraceful want of ſagacity, or a ſtill more diſgraceful want of ſincerity. This alternative it is impoſſible to evade. The French government had, on the former occaſion, committed themſelves completely on the ſubject of the annexation of Belgium to France; and there was ſurely no ground whatever to imagine that they would, at the cloſe of a very ſucceſsful campaign, recede from a determination which they had at the commencement of it ſo publicly and ſolemnly expreſſed. When this determination was once formed, the principle on which they founded, or the reaſons by which they juſtified it, were of no conſequence to England;—the ſole practical queſtion to be reſolved was, whether it were expedient to continue the war for the chance of wreſting the Auſtrian Low Countries from France by force? It would indeed have ſimplified the buſineſs, and have deprived their arch-enemy, Mr. Pitt, of a plauſible topic of declamation, had the Executive Directory avowed their reſolution to retain the provinces in queſtion, in the language already

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already *ſanctioned* by the uſe of the Engliſh miniſtry, " as an indemnity for the paſt, and a ſecurity for the future." The French government was no leſs juſtifiable in making the retention, than the Engliſh the reſtitution, of the Low Countries a *ſine qua non* of the negotiation; and Mr. Pitt himſelf could not have denied, that for ſuch general reſolution not to treat, but upon certain conditions of advantage previouſly ſpecified, the practice of *regular and approved governments* might be adduced. Not to advert to remoter inſtances, a very few years had elapſed ſince the court of London, after much idle menace and bluſter indeed, yielded to a pretenſion of this nature advanced by one of her preſent allies, the empreſs of Ruſſia; who, in her late war with Turkey, had conquered and inſiſted upon retaining poſſeſſion of Oczakow, and the ſurrounding country from the Bog to the Neiſter, as a preliminary of peace. With regard to the ambaſſador, lord Malmeſbury, it was manifeſt, from the whole tenor of his correſpondence, and particularly his long and elaborate account of the conference with M. de la Croix (December 18), that his talents had been extremely over-rated. When the negotiation plainly turned upon a ſingle point, he wandered into tedious diſcuſſions wholly irrelevant, ornamenting his diſcourſe with turns of wit not very brilliant, intermixed with arguments *ad hominem* not very concluſive. His addreſs and manners were notwithſtanding perfectly decorous and polite; and his diplomatic ability appears not to have been unequal to a negotiation requiring nothing beyond ready and ſpecious converſation upon ſuch ſubjects as might be ſuppoſed to occur in the ordinary routine of politics. Upon the whole, as it could ſcarcely be imagined that the Engliſh miniſtry entertained the moſt diſtant expectation that France would be induced to recede from her claim reſpecting Belgium, too much countenance was afforded to the ſuſpicions expreſſed by the Executive Directory, relative to the ſincerity of the court of London, and their jealouſy " that the ſtep taken

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taken by that court had no other object than to obtain for the Britiſh government the favorable impreſſion which always accompanies the firſt overture for peace," to which they might have added the advantage accruing to the Britiſh miniſters from keeping up the farce of negotiation and pacification at home.

While this famous negotiation was pending, Mr. Burke, who had now no longer a ſeat in parliament, publiſhed a moſt furious, ſanguinary, and frantic pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace;" in which he urged, in his characteriſtic manner, the proſecution of the war as a war *ad internecionem*. Deploring deeply the puſillanimity of Mr. Pitt in making theſe diſgraceful advances to the regicide foe, he loftily exclaims:—"The miniſter had, in this conflict, wherewithal to glory in ſucceſs, to be conſoled in adverſity. If it were not given him to ſupport the falling edifice, he ought to bury himſelf under the ruins of the civiliſed world." Throughout this extraordinary performance, which every-where bears the marks of great but eccentric genius, the writer, riſing to the ſublimeſt heights of terrific eloquence, may be compared to the SPIRIT of LODA, "coming in the roar of a thouſand ſtorms, and ſcattering battles from his eyes;" * or to the image in Calphurnia's dream—blood ſpouting at every pore. Yet this very man, previous to his being poſſeſſed by this dæmoniac phrenſy, could ſay, in the words of truth and ſoberneſs, "I cannot conceive any being under Heaven, which in its infinite wiſdom tolerates all ſorts of exiſtences, more odious and diſguſting, than an impotent helpleſs creature, without civil wiſdom or military ſkill, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight." This was happily the laſt effort of a pen which had long been taught to inſcribe only characters of blood. Falling into a lingering illneſs, increaſed no doubt by the morbid irritability of his mind, this grand incendiary of Europe expired,

* Poems of OSSIAN—Caric-thura, Vol. I.

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expired, in a few months after this period, at once the object of pity, of abhorrence, and of admiration.

The young king of Sweden, Guſtavus IV. having recently attained to the age of majority, the regency of the duke of Sudermania, his uncle, who had governed that kingdom for four years with great wiſdom and moderation, was now at an end; and it was ſoon perceivable that the ſame caution and ſagacity no longer governed the Swediſh councils, which ſeemed, from this time, to be entirely under the influence of the court of St. Peterſburg. Baron Stael, the Swediſh ambaſſador at Paris, was replaced by M. Renhauſen, a determined enemy of the republic. Repreſentations having been made to the court of Stockholm, without effect, againſt this nomination, M. Renhauſen received a peremptory order from the miniſter of the police to leave Paris; and the French envoy, in return, received a ſimilar notice to quit the city of Stockholm; and all appearances portended a ſudden rupture between the two nations. This event might poſſibly be retarded by the unexpected death of the empreſs of Ruſſia, who died at this critical juncture, Nov. 6, 1796, by a ſtroke of apoplexy, without any previous illneſs; retaining, to the age of ſixty-ſeven years, her health, her vigor, and talents for government, unimpaired and undiminiſhed. Conformably to her artful and inſidious policy, ſhe had, from the very commencement of hoſtilities againſt France, exerted her influence in fomenting the flames of diſcord, and in inſtigating other potentates to the attack, while ſhe herſelf ſtood aloof from the conteſt, at a ſafe and cautious diſtance. She did not heſitate very openly to expreſs her contempt of the meaſures of the Engliſh court, and of the political abilities of the miniſter by whom they were chiefly directed; profeſſing great admiration of the talents of Mr. Fox, whoſe ſagacity and eloquence had ſo happily, in a late inſtance, prevented a rupture between Great Britain and Ruſſia; and whoſe buſt, wrought by the famous ſculptor Nollikens, in

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in obedience to her order, ſhe cauſed to be placed between thoſe of Cicero and Demoſthenes. This extraordinary woman, who had attained the ſummit of power by very queſtionable, if not criminal means, governed the empire of Ruſſia, for the ſpace of thirty-four years, with uninterrupted ſucceſs and reputation: but the glorious actions of her reign were blended with injuſtice, and ſtained with cruelty; and, in the accompliſhment of her ends, ſhe never heſitated with reſpect to means. Her ſucceſſor in the imperial throne of the Ruſſias was her only ſon by the late czar Paul Petrowitz; of whom the empreſs had entertained ſo great a diſlike and jealouſy, that he was, during her life-time, little known in any public or political capacity. But the general idea formed of his character was very far from being favorable to the new emperor, who, by the few acquainted with his diſpoſition and temper, was ſaid to be weak, violent, haughty, and capricious.

Nearly at the ſame time alſo died Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, in an advanced age:---an event which produced no ſenſible effect upon the general politics of the continent. He was ſucceeded in his precarious throne by his ſon the prince of Piedmont.

BOOK

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BOOK XVII.

Seſſion of Parliament, 1796–7. *Pacificatory Speech from the Throne. Remarkable Proteſt of Earl Fitzwilliam. New Levies of Marines, Militia, and Cavalry. Statement of Finance. National Loan. Illegal Advance of Money to the Emperor. Motions of Mr. Grey and of Mr. Fox relative to the ſame. Meſſage from the King to both Houſes of Parliament, announcing the Failure of the Negotiation for Peace. Debates upon the Meſſage, and Addreſs to the Throne. State of Parties. Derangement of the Affairs of the Bank of England. Bank of England ſtops Payment. Affairs of the Bank inveſtigated by Parliament. Second National Loan. Pacificatory Motions, by the Earl of Oxford and Mr. Pollen. Dangerous Mutiny in the Fleet. Important Motion of the Earl of Moira reſpecting Ireland—And of Mr. Fox on the ſame ſubject. Petitions to the King for the removal of Miniſters. Addreſs for the Removal of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury moved by the Earl of Suffolk. Addreſs for the Diſmiſſion of Miniſters moved in the Houſe of Commons by Alderman Combe. Motion by Mr. Grey for a Reform in Parliament. Motion of the Duke of Bedford for the Diſmiſſion of Miniſters. Scottiſh Militia Bill. Seſſion of Parliament terminated. Project of a new Adminiſtration—Rejected by the King. Military Tranſactions in Italy. Battle of Rivoli. General Provera ſurrenders. Capitulation of Mantua. Auſtrians retreat beyond the Brenta. Capture of Trent. General Buonaparte enters the Eccleſiaſtical States. Surrender of Ancona, &c. Plunder of Loretto. Peace of Tolentino. Ambaſſy to St. Marino. Archduke Charles ſuperſedes Marſhal Alvinzi. Auſtrians entrench themſelves behind the Tagliamento. Entrenchments forced. Inſpruck and Brixen*

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captured by the French. General Buonaparte offers Peace to the Archduke. Auſtrians again defeated at Neumark and Hunſmark. Alarm of the Court of Vienna. Critical Situation of General Buonaparte. Preliminaries of Peace ſigned at Leoben. Subverſion of the Venetian Government—And likewiſe that of Genoa. Foundation of the Ciſalpine Republic. Operations on the Rhine. Deſcent of the French on the Coaſt of Wales. Victory obtained over the Spaniſh Fleet by Sir John Jervis. Unſucceſsful Attack on the Iſle of Teneriffe. Capture of Trinidad. Failure at Porto Rico. Victory over the Dutch Fleet by Admiral Duncan. Interior State of France. Royaliſt Conſpiracy againſt the Government. Formidable Oppoſition to the Directory in the Councils. Triumph of the Directory. Freſh Attempt of the Court of London to negotiate with France—Lord Malmeſbury a ſecond Time appointed Ambaſſador—Progreſs and abrupt Concluſion of the Negotiation. State of the Gallican Church. Origin of the Sect of the Theophilanthropiſts. Treaty of Campo Formio. Congreſs at Raſtadt. State of America. Extraordinary Reception of the American Commiſſioners at Paris. Arreſt of the Portugueſe Ambaſſador. Death of Count Bernſtorf—And of the King of Pruſſia. National Thankſgiving.

THE new parliament was convened at a ſeaſon of the year unuſually early, viz. the 6th of October (1796). The ſpeech from the throne afforded much ſatisfaction, as the harbinger of returning peace. "I have omitted no endeavours," ſaid his majeſty, "for ſetting on foot negotiations to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure for the future the general tranquillity. The ſteps which I have taken for this purpoſe have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the iſſue of which muſt either produce the deſirable end of a juſt, honorable, and ſolid peace, for us and for our allies, or muſt prove beyond diſpute to what cauſe alone the prolongation of the calamities of war muſt be

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be aſcribed.—The fortune of the war on the continent has been various, and the progreſs of the French armies threatened at one period the utmoſt danger to all Europe; but from the honorable and dignified perſeverance of my ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces, under the auſpicious conduct of the archduke Charles, ſuch a turn has lately been given to the courſe of the war as may inſpire a well-grounded confidence that the final reſult of the campaign will prove more diſaſtrous to the enemy than its commencement and progreſs for a time were favorable to their hopes."

The addreſſes moved, being expreſſed in general and moderate terms, were acceded to with little oppoſition in both houſes; excepting that lord Fitzwilliam, who had imbibed, in all their extent, the violent opinions of Mr. Burke, and who conſidered peace with France as involving in it danger, miſchief, and ruin to England, entered on the journals of the peers a very elaborate proteſt, aſſigning no leſs than ten diſtinct reaſons for refuſing to concur in an addreſs of approbation for ſetting on foot the preſent negotiation.

Mr. Fox congratulated the houſe of commons that his majeſty's miniſters had at length done what he had for three years earneſtly adviſed; but he lamented that this meaſure had not been adopted before a hundred millions had been ſpent, and a hundred thouſand lives been ſacrificed, in this bloody and fruitleſs conteſt. He ſaid he did not wiſh to recollect, much leſs to retaliate, the reproaches and invectives formerly pronounced againſt him, as degrading by his counſels the dignity of the Britiſh nation, and laying his majeſty's crown at the feet of the French republicans.

On the 18th of October the houſe of commons reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider that clauſe of his majeſty's ſpeech which alluded to the intention manifeſted by the enemy to attempt a deſcent on theſe kingdoms. In addition

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dition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the chancellor of the Exchequer declared to be more formidable than it had ever been at any former period, he propoſed—1ſt, a levy of 15,000 men, from the different pariſhes, for the ſea-ſervice, and for recruiting the regiments of the line, great numbers of which he ſtated to have fallen in defence of our foreign poſſeſſions:—2dly, he ſuggeſted a ſupplementary levy of militia, to conſiſt of 60,000 men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, ſo as to be fit for ſervice in a moment of danger: 3dly, Mr. Pitt propoſed to raiſe a conſiderable force of irregular cavalry—every perſon who kept ten horſes to provide one horſe and one horſeman to ſerve in a corps of cavalry, thoſe who kept more than ten to provide in the ſame proportion, and thoſe who kept fewer to form themſelves into claſſes, and decide who, at the common expenſe, ſhould provide the horſe and horſeman. Theſe ſeveral propoſitions received the ſanction of the two houſes, and paſſed into laws; but the plan for raiſing an additional body of cavalry, though a ſecond and third act paſſed to explain and amend the firſt, was framed in a manner ſo diſgracefully crude, confuſed, and complex, that it was found totally impracticable in the execution; and it was in a great meaſure ſuperſeded by the numerous volunteer corps of yeoman-cavalry which were, about this time, embodied in all parts of the kingdom.

On the 21ſt of October, upon the motion of Mr. Windham, 195,000 men were voted for the land-ſervice, and ſoon afterwards 120,000 ſeamen and marines were voted for the naval ſervice, of the year.

In the beginning of December the chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual ſtatement to the houſe, according to which eighteen millions would be wanting, by way of loan, excluſive of five millions and a half of Exchequer-bills, and about thirteen millions and a half of Navy-bills, which he propoſed to fund; the intereſt of all which amounted

amounted to upwards of two millions per annum of additional and perpetual taxes. Mr. Pitt took this opportunity to acknowledge that he had made an actual advance to the emperor of divers ſums of money to the amount of about 1,200,000*l.* and he ſhould propoſe a vote of three millions to enable miniſters to give the neceſſary aſſiſtance to our allies in caſe we were obliged to perſevere in the war.—Mr. Fox roſe, and with great warmth and energy ſtated "that the miniſter had it undoubtedly in his power, many months ago, to have conſulted the houſe as to this ſubject; that having neglected ſo to do, and manifeſted a determination to diſpoſe of the public money without the knowledge or authority of that houſe, he ought for this conduct to be *impeached*. And for what was this money thus illegally and unconſtitutionally expended? Year after year had the miniſter calculated upon the events of the war; and year after year had the public been miſled by his calculations. One hundred and fifty millions had been added to the debt of the country, and rivers of human blood had been made to flow. The miniſter now at length *talked* of peace; but as his ſkill in calculation was made a matter of boaſt, it might be wiſhed that he would one day ſit down in his cloſet, and calculate what a ſum of human happineſs he had deſtroyed already, what a waſte of human life he had occaſioned, and all this becauſe he could not ſooner diſcover that the French were capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity."—After theſe obſervations, which did not admit of any anſwer, the reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt were ſucceſſively put and carried.

The meaſure thus adopted by the miniſter, of clandeſtinely remitting money to a foreign court, during the interval and even the ſitting of parliament, was too extraordinary not to attract the farther notice of oppoſition: and when the report of the Committee of Ways and Means was brought up, December 8, Mr. Fox again took occaſion earneſtly to requeſt the attention of the houſe to this ſubject.

"Had

" Had miniſters, he remarked, found themſelves called upon by an imperious ſenſe of duty, when parliament was not ſitting, to grant a pecuniary aid to the emperor, and upon the meeting of parliament had ſubmitted the reaſons of their conduct to the judgment of the houſe, the caſe would have differed very widely from the preſent. In the courſe of the laſt three months of the preceding parliament repeated applications were made to them reſpecting their intentions of granting or with-holding pecuniary aſſiſtance to the emperor; but they preſerved a profound ſilence on the ſubject; and we now find that a great part of the money had been remitted to the emperor when parliament was actually ſitting. Did the right honorable gentleman fancy himſelf better qualified to judge of the time and extent of the aſſiſtance neceſſary to be granted than the houſe of commons? As long as the queſtion was open to debate and diſcuſſion, the houſe was kept in total ignorance relating to it: they are, however, ultimately informed of the tranſaction;—but at what period? When the money has been paid, and deliberation is precluded. Mr. Fox hoped that, on this occaſion at leaſt, parliament would vindicate its own dignity and importance. If the houſe ſhould ſubmit to this daring encroachment on their rights, and the commons ſhould relinquiſh the guardianſhip of the public purſe, there would be little left, after the late violent encroachments on the conſtitution, to diſtinguiſh our government from that of abſolute monarchies."

Mr. Pitt aſſerted, in reply, " that the general principles ſtated by Mr. Fox were ſubject to limitation; that in the beſt and pureſt æras of the conſtitution extraordinaries and votes of credit had been recogniſed as warranted by the ſpirit of it. He allowed that the miniſter who exerciſed the diſcretion veſted in him improperly was not exempt from cenſure; but the manner in which he underſtood the limitation referred to he would ſtate when called upon to make his defence."—The houſe of commons did not, however,

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however, appear entirely to enter into the views of the miniſter upon this momentous topic, nor ſeem diſpoſed to grant him their unreſerved confidence on a point which ſo nearly affected both their privileges and their power.

Sir William Pulteney, one of the comparatively few independant members who uſually voted with Mr. Pitt, declared, "the concern and aſtoniſhment which he felt at this unconſtitutional appropriation of public money by the miniſter. It was indeed an undoubted and unfortunate truth that extraordinaries and a vote of credit muſt be granted in every year of a war; but ſurely ſubſidies to foreign princes could never be intentionally included in them. New and urgent circumſtances might occur to render the exerciſe of miniſterial diſcretion proper; but here the circumſtances were known and public. The dilemma to which the houſe was reduced, from the neceſſity they were under either to confirm a tranſaction ſo contrary to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, or by any retroſpective reſolution to ſhake the confidence of their allies in the public faith thus pledged by the miniſter, was a great aggravation of his miſconduct: and it was his opinion that a ſtrong mark of cenſure ought to be inflicted by the houſe, in order for ever to prevent any ſimilar violation of their moſt eſſential privileges."

Mr. Grey remarked, "that the inſenſibility of the houſe on former occaſions to the danger which threatened the conſtitution had encouraged the miniſter to venture upon this daring meaſure; and that his boldneſs had riſen in proportion to the obſequiouſneſs of parliament. From the inſpection of the papers before the houſe," Mr. Grey ſaid, "it appeared that the *whole* of the money had been remitted during the ſitting of parliament, excepting the trifling ſum of 77,000 *l.* Will the houſe, on ſuch a great conſtitutional queſtion as the preſent, be ſatisfied with pompous declamation? Surely there is a barrier beyond which even the complaiſance of that aſſembly would not allow his majeſty's miniſters to extend

extend their predatory encroachments. *Vile* as the conduct of the laſt parliament had been, he did not believe they conſidered their vote of credit as conveying any ſuch power to miniſters; and he appealed to thoſe gentlemen preſent who were members of the former houſe of commons, whether, at the time the vote paſſed, they were in the remoteſt degree aware that they were giving two millions and a half of money to the emperor.—Mr. Grey moved that the ſecond reading of the Bill of Supply ſhould be poſtponed till the next day; and he would then move the houſe to reſolve that the miniſter had been guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor."

Mr. Wilberforce, who for two ſeſſions earneſtly, and not without ſome effect upon the houſe, and ſtill more upon the public at large, oppoſed the ruinous and frantic meaſures of the miniſter, had been, for a conſiderable time paſt, evidently wavering in his conduct; and he embraced the preſent opportunity to demonſtrate to the world that he was now again, from a diſpoſition, as thoſe who were friendly to him repreſented, weak not depraved, capricious not corrupt, as ready and willing as the moſt ſervile inſtrument of government to defend the worſt of men in the commiſſion of the worſt of deeds. This gentleman declared himſelf "averſe to poſtponing the vote of ſupply even for a ſingle day; and averred that the vote of credit, if examined *attentively*, would be found to convey an impreſſion that miniſters were authorized in employing the money entruſted to them in ſuch a manner as the public exigencies might require."—After a long and ardent debate the houſe divided; and the numbers appeared to be, 58 for, and 164 againſt, the propoſed poſtponement of the ſupply.

In order to compel Mr. Pitt to ſtate the ſpecific grounds on which he ventured upon a ſtep ſo manifeſtly contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and by no means in conſiſtency with the ſenſe of the houſe, and much leſs of the nation, Mr. Fox, on the 14th of December, moved, "That his majeſty's

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majeſty's miniſters, having, at different times, and during the ſitting of parliament, directed the iſſue of various ſums of money for the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, &c. have acted contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, and have thereby violated the conſtitutional privileges of this houſe."—This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Combe, one of the repreſentatives of the city of London, "in willing obedience," as he ſaid, "to the inſtructions of his conſtituents, who, in common-hall, had that day, in the moſt expreſs manner, directed their repreſentatives to cenſure the conduct of miniſters in granting away the public money without conſent of parliament. He alſo, as a merchant, obſerved, that the diſcounting of the bills drawn for the purpoſe of remitting money to the emperor had been productive of extreme inconvenience both to the Bank and to the mercantile intereſt, and had occaſioned an alarming deficiency of circulating-caſh."—Mr. Pitt now roſe moſt reluctantly in his own defence, which conſiſted merely in citing a ſeries of parliamentary precedents totally irrevelant to the queſtion, as they referred excluſively to the remiſſion of ſums during the receſs of parliament, for purpoſes of urgency which could not be foreſeen previous to the prorogation, or which had been actually ſtated to the houſe as likely to occur, and for which a vote of credit had been avowedly granted. To relieve the miniſter from his diſgraceful embarraſſment, an amendment to Mr. Fox's motion was at length propoſed by one of his more moderate partizans, purporting, "that advancing the ſeveral ſums of money in the account then before the houſe, for the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, *though* not to be drawn into PRECEDENT but upon occaſions of SPECIAL NECESSITY, was a juſtifiable exerciſe, *under the circumſtances of the caſe*, of the diſcretion veſted in his majeſty's miniſters by the vote of credit." The circumſtances of the caſe, it will be remembered, were, *that* the houſe of commons was actually ſitting when the money was remitted; *that* the miniſter ſtudiouſly avoided the moſt diſtant

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tant intimation of his intention to grant pecuniary assistance to the emperor when called upon for that purpose; and *that* the vote of credit was made a mere cloak and pretext for this infamous and daring imposition on the house and the public, for which, in former times, no punishment short of that which this abandoned and apostate minister had attempted to inflict on those whose object it was to rectify these monstrous abuses by a radical reform in parliament, would have been deemed too severe. The house, after long and vehement debate, at length divided upon the amendment—Ayes 285, Noes 81.

On the 27th of December, a message from the king was laid before the house of peers by lord Grenville, stating, "That the negotiation, which an anxious desire of peace had induced him to open at Paris, had been abruptly terminated by the French government;" and his lordship moved an address to the throne, approving the conduct of ministers in all the particulars of this transaction: to which the earl of Guildford proposed an amendment, stating the misconduct of ministers during the whole of the present war, and charging them with insincerity in every part of the negotiation. This produced an animated debate, which terminated in the approval of the address by a great majority.

On the 30th of December, Mr. Pitt moved the house of commons to take into consideration a similar message delivered to the house. Upon this occasion the minister pronounced one of the most eloquent, and at the same time one of the most insidious and sophistical, harangues of which there is any example in parliamentary history. He prefaced his speech with an exordium, lamenting in impassioned terms the failure of the late negotiation. He said "that he had fondly hoped we should have been relieved from the contest into which we had been forced against our will,—a contest produced by the repeated aggressions of an imperious enemy,—a contest undertaken from motives of inevitable necessity,

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undertaken to preſerve our conſtitution, to defend the general ſecurity of Europe, and from a ſacred regard to that good faith which we had pledged to our allies. From theſe cauſes we were forced into a ſtate of warfare; and, whilſt they continued to operate, we were alſo determined to perſevere; and the regret he felt was therefore without deſpondency, his diſappointment without deſpair. We had not," he ſaid, "ourſelves to blame for this misfortune; it aroſe from the exorbitant pretenſions of our enemies: nothing had been wanting on the part of this country to reſtore peace on the grounds on which alone it was deſirable: for, when we wiſhed for peace, it was for a ſecure and permanent peace.---In March 1796 an offer had been made to treat in that way which had been ſanctioned by uſage and the general experience of nations. The offer was met on the part of the enemy by advancing a preliminary of ſuch a nature that no man could ſeriouſly juſtify and ſupport it. The anſwer to Mr. Wickham was founded upon what France choſe to call 'the law by which ſhe was bound.' What law? A law of their own making! a mere internal regulation! a principle annulling all treaties, in open defiance of the rights of Europe and the received maxims of nations!---The next mode which was adopted was an application through the medium of a neutral miniſter; the ambaſſador of the court of Denmark made this application, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, merely to know if they would ſend paſſports for a plenipotentiary to be ſent by his majeſty to Paris. How was this application received? For ſome time no anſwer was made. At laſt the Daniſh miniſter was informed---not by a written anſwer to a written note, but verbally---that if a miniſter were ſent, he would be furniſhed with paſſports when he arrived at their frontier. Had there been the moſt remote deſire on the part of his majeſty and his miniſters to retard the negotiation, was not this enough to juſtify them in abandoning their attempt? But ſo anxious were they to obtain

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tain the bleſſing of peace, that they reſolved to ſurmount theſe difficulties, and a flag of truce was ſent over charged with a commiſſion ſimilar to what had been given to the Daniſh miniſter. After a time, the requeſt was granted by the French government, not willingly, but of neceſſity. —The firſt object of the plenipotentiary was to do what was conformable to common ſenſe and eſtabliſhed uſage; to fix ſome acknowledged baſis upon which each party might come forward with ſome degree of certainty of obtaining the deſired object. The baſis propoſed was 'that compenſation ſhould be made to France, for proportionable reſtitutions from his majeſty's conqueſts on that power, for thoſe arrangements to which ſhe ſhould be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.' Was there any thing to be found of low ſordid intereſt in this? We propoſed to give up what the valor of England had acquired —not to aggrandize ourſelves in any other manner, but to preſerve our good faith to thoſe who had a right to rely upon it—The *baſis* being, after much delay and difficulty, unequivocally acknowledged, it was requiſite to conſider what had been demanded under the above circumſtances: not the return of antient poſſeſſions—not for liberty to maintain our independence, to reject the fraternal embrace, and prevent the organization of treaſon: theſe did not reſt upon the permiſſion of the enemy—they depended upon the patriotiſm of the people of England: we only deſired to preſerve our good faith inviolate, and were ready to ſacrifice all our own advantages to obtain what we could not honorably give away without the conſent of the emperor. All the propoſitions underwent diſcuſſion between the plenipotentiary and the miniſter. ONLY *as to the* NETHERLANDS *his majeſty could on no account retract any part of his propoſitions; but every thing* ELSE *was ſubject to modification!*

" No

" No ſooner had the ambaſſador (lord Malmeſbury) delivered in a *projet*, and announced that he was ready to enter into the diſcuſſion of particulars, than he was ordered to leave Paris, and the negotiation to be carried on by means of couriers. Such was the ſtudied inſult that had been offered to his majeſty!

" The Directory demanded, not as an *ultimatum* but as a preliminary, to retain all thoſe territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary poſſeſſion, and reſpecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to paſs a conſtitutional decree, declaring that theſe ſhould not be alienated from the republic. But this perverſe and monſtrous claim, in virtue of which territories acquired by force of arms were annexed to a ſtate during the continuance of the war in which ſuch acquiſitions were made, could never be ſuppoſed to ſuperſede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the ſeveral nations in Europe. It was impoſſible that the ſeparate act of a ſeparate government could diſſolve the ties ſubſiſting between other governments, or extend to the abrogation of treaties previouſly concluded. Yet this had been the pretenſion to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they had held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the king of Great Britain and his allies.

" There was no principle of the law of nations clearer than this—that when, in the courſe of war, any nation acquired new poſſeſſions, that ſuch nation had only temporary right to them, and that they do not become property till the end of the war: for, ſuppoſing the conqueror to inſiſt upon retaining them, becauſe he had paſſed a law that they ſhould not be alienated, might not the neighbouring powers, or even the hoſtile power, aſk who gave him the right to paſs it? or what authority had he, as a ſeparate ſtate, by any annexation of territory, to cancel exiſting treaties, and deſtroy the equilibrium eſtabliſhed amongſt nations? Were this

pretenſion

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pretenſion tolerated, it would be a ſource of eternal hoſtility, and a perpetual bar to negotiation between the contending parties, becauſe the pretenſions of the one would be totally irreconcileable with thoſe of the other: this, in the inſtance of France, had been as inconſiſtent in its operations as it had been unfounded in its origin. The poſſeſſions which they had loſt in the war in the Weſt Indies they had made dependent parts of the republic. Tobago, which had been loſt in the preceding war, and which was recovered in the preſent by Britiſh arms, was made a part of indiviſible France; nor ſhould he be ſurpriſed to hear that Ireland, in conſequence of their intention to invade it, was conſtitutionally annexed to the republic!---Allowing, however, that the decree in queſtion was a valid principle of the French conſtitution, was it an evil without a remedy? No: M. de la Croix confeſſed it might be remedied; but not without the inconvenience of calling the primary aſſemblies. And were we then, after all our exertions to obtain peace, after being baffled in all our efforts by the pride and obſtinacy of the French government, our propoſitions ſlighted, and our ambaſſador inſulted,---were we now to conſent to ſacrifice our engagements, and to violate our treaties, becauſe, forſooth, it would be ſome inconvenience to call their aſſemblies, in order to cancel a law incompatible with the principle of fair negotiation? Shall we ſo far forget our honor, our dignity, and our duty, as to acquieſce in ſuch conditions? But this is not all the degradation to which they would have us ſubmit---We muſt engage, and as a preliminary too, to make no propoſitions contrary to their conſtitution and the treaties which bind the republic!

"This reſtriction is more unreaſonable than the other. The republic may have made ſecret treaties which we know nothing about; and yet that government expects that we are not to permit our propoſitions to interfere with theſe treaties. How can we know what the Dutch have ceded to France, or whether France may not have an oath never to give up the

the territories ceded to her by Holland? What ſecret article may be contained in her treaty with Spain, guaranteeing the reſtitution of Gibraltar, or ſome important poſſeſſion belonging to his majeſty? And after accepting terms, of which we are entirely ignorant, in what ſituation do we ſtand? We at laſt arrive at the diſcuſſion of the government which France may chooſe to give to Italy, and of the fate which ſhe may be pleaſed to aſſign to Germany. In fact, the point is not how much you will give for peace, but how much you will ſuffer to purchaſe diſgrace. In theſe circumſtances, then, are we to perſevere in the war with an energy worthy of the Britiſh name, or, by ſending couriers to Paris, to proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of a ſtubborn and ſupercilious government, to do what they require, and ſubmit to what they impoſe? I hope there is not a hand in his majeſty's councils who would ſign the propoſals, a heart in this houſe which would ſanction the meaſure, or an individual in the Britiſh dominions who would act as the courier." *

To

* In the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Erſkine (View of the Cauſes and Conſequences of the War) are to be found, p. 66—72, ſome admirable obſervations on the conduct of this negotiation, and on Mr. Pitt's ſingularly groſs miſrepreſentation of the cauſes of its rupture. "The whole proceeding," ſays Mr. Erſkine, "is neither more nor leſs than this:—The court of London having reſolved upon a *ſine qua non*, which they did not at firſt communicate, and which was in direct oppoſition to the former public *ſine qua non* of France, as expreſſed in the March preceding, propoſe mutual compenſation as the baſis of negotiation. The Executive Directory being determined not to adopt *that* baſis of compenſation which ſhould break in upon their former determination not to cede the territory of the republic, anſwer, 'That they cannot accept compenſation as a baſis, unleſs they know what it comprehends; and they therefore demand of lord Malmeſbury to ſtate his ſpecific propoſition of compenſation.' This demand the ambaſſador, in purſuance of his inſtructions, of courſe refuſes, until the Directory ſhould firſt admit the baſis. After a conſiderable length of time in this diſpute about nothing, the ſpecified demand of compenſation was tranſmitted to, and delivered by, lord Malmeſbury, in which England demanded reſtitution

To this ſpecious and ſplendid harangue Mr. Fox made a moſt able and memorable reply, marked with all the ingenuouſneſs,

tution to the emperor on the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum*. This demand was not expreſſed in terms as a *ſine qua non*, or ultimatum, upon the face of the confidential memorial; but in the collateral diſcuſſions with M. de la Croix it *was* expreſſed as a POSITIVE ULTIMATUM, that Belgium ſhould not remain as a part of France—The Directory therefore repeated their former ultimatum upon that point, viz. 'that they would liſten to no propoſal contrary to the conſtitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic.' This anſwer being ultimatum againſt ultimatum, upon a particular point, the negotiation was brought to an inevitable concluſion; and it is ſelf-evident that this muſt have been its fate, in one day or in one hour, if Great Britain, aware with the reſt of Europe of the former determination of France regarding Belgium, and determined to continue to reſiſt that pretenſion, had aſked her *at once* whether ſhe would conſent to modify or abandon it?

"When the details of this negotiation came to be conſidered in the houſe of commons on the 30th of December laſt, the miniſter diſplayed all that dexterity and ability for which he is ſo remarkable. His object was to conceal from the houſe all theſe obvious concluſions, and to incenſe the parliament and the nation at the inſolent unfounded pretences of France, which defeated, by their unparalleled abſurdity and inadmiſſibility, the earneſt anxiety of miniſters for peace. He wiſely, therefore, and ably and dextrouſly, kept in the back ground the thing refuſed which formed the obſtacle; he *prudently* ſuppreſſed the details of his own adminiſtration, which had given to France both the power and the temper to refuſe the demanded ceſſion of Belgium;—even the danger of ſuffering Belgium to remain with France was much ſunk in his argument, and the evil mainly inſiſted upon was her *unfounded reaſon* for reſiſting the ceſſion. He not only enlarged upon the injuſtice of a nation finally annexing a territory acquired during the war,—forgetting the annexation of Corſica by his majeſty's ſolemn acceptance of its crown,—but, appealing to the French Conſtitution, he denied that it eſtabliſhed the annexation of the Belgic provinces. This part of the miniſter's ſpeech was by far the moſt labored, argumentative, and ingenious; inſomuch, that I could not help being ſtruck in the moment with the force of that characteriſtic infirmity which ſeems to impel him, as it were by a law of his nature, always to act upon one principle under the pretext of another. The putting forward the reaſon of refuſal, and keeping back the value of the thing refuſed, and the chance of retrieving it by continuing the war, was only the parade and juggle of the day—It was to hide from the houſe and the country that we were actually to be at war for BELGIUM."

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genuousneſs, the generoſity, and profound political diſcernment, which had ſo long diſtinguiſhed the parliamentary efforts of this great and unrivalled ſtateſman. He began by obſerving "that the ſubject before them demanded, no leſs from its ſingularity than its magnitude, the deepeſt conſideration. After a war of four years' duration, and which they had been repeatedly told was a war of unparalleled glory and ſucceſs—a war certainly unparalleled in reſpect to the torrents of blood which had been ſhed, and to the treaſure which had been expended in the proſecution of it—ſo far are we from having gained any object for which we originally embarked in hoſtilities, that the miniſter had that night come forward in an elaborate ſpeech, the intention of which was to prove that the enemy was become more unreaſonable in their pretenſions than ever. It would have been ſome ſatisfaction, in deſcanting upon the extravagance of theſe demands, had we been informed by what means the right honorable gentleman propoſes to reduce them. How often have we been told, that the reſources of the French nation were exhauſted—that they were not only on the verge, but in the gulf of bankruptcy! Their exertions became the more miraculous in proportion as their ruin was the more confidently foretold. After the egregious failure of his former predictions, what claim can the miniſter poſſeſs to the confidence of this houſe in the preſent moment? If Belgium could be reconquered by magnificent boaſts or pompous declamations within theſe walls, we ſhould not have been reduced to the neceſſity of negotiating for its reſtitution, but have dictated the terms of peace long ago in the centre of Paris. Previous to the commencement of this fatal conteſt, with what earneſt efforts did I labor to perſuade this houſe of the propriety of ſending an ambaſſador to Paris, who might certainly have treated with every proſpect of ſucceſs;—but thoſe efforts were wholly unavailing. And when it is aſſerted that lord Malmeſbury was diſmiſſed in a way altogether unprece-

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dented, the right honorable gentleman muſt ſurely have forgotten the manner in which M. Chauvelin was ſent from this country. In every negotiation the difficulty of coming to any definitive arrangement muſt be infinitely increaſed by the mutual prevalence of diſtruſt between the parties. And if that diſtruſt was juſtifiable on our part, might not thoſe who have been abuſed by miniſters with every term of invective and reproach which language affords, be allowed to entertain in return ſome diſtruſt of them? Could they fail to recollect, in receiving the aſſurances of lord Malmeſbury's "high conſideration," that lord Aukland was created a peer for denouncing them to the world as MISCREANTS who ought to be put under the ſword of the law?* Two years ago, the miniſter, when preſſed upon the

* From the month of May, 1789; that is to ſay, as ſoon as principles of political liberty began to emanate from the Conſtitutional Aſſembly; "from that moment it became," ſays an excellent political writer, "the diurnal taſk of every newſpaper under the influence of the Engliſh Treaſury to abuſe the revolution, to pervert every good, to exaggerate every evil, to mutilate and miſrepreſent every fact, to traduce and outrage the whole French nation in every ſentiment and operation."——Utrum horum?

A diſtinguiſhed writer already repeatedly quoted, and whoſe publication, conſiſting of twenty-four pages only, ſeems dictated by the mouth of wiſdom upon the ſame ſubject, thus expreſſes himſelf: "A mere offer to put an end to hoſtility, while all the cauſes and all the effects of rooted hatred remain, can impoſe on no man. There muſt be a real diſpoſition to peace; and this muſt be manifeſted by a temperate, if not amicable, language, and by all the acts of kindneſs and conciliation which a ſtate of war will admit of; otherwiſe the forms of a negotiation avail nothing. If, while you offer peace in terms, your actions and diſcourſes indicate nothing but ſuſpicion, hatred, and revenge, you may poſſibly purchaſe a ceſſation of arms by conceſſions and ſacrifices; but you leave the enmity entire, and ſtrengthen it againſt you by the price you pay for a temporary ſuſpenſion of its effects. Whilſt the negotiation laſted, invectives and abuſe againſt the French Directory went on as uſual, or with very little interruption, in the newſpapers paid and inſtructed by our government. Every man in London knows that theſe papers ſpeak the language of miniſters, and that they are kept in conſtant pay on purpoſe to prepare the public to adopt the ſentiments and views of

the ſubject of peace, made uſe of the memorable words, "When France is in a condition to preſerve the relations of peace and amity." But when was ſhe proved incapable of ſuſtaining thoſe relations? Since that æra ſhe has made and maintained peace with Pruſſia, Spain, Naples, Tuſcany, and the princes of Germany. How, with ſuch open avowed opinions on our part, can you expect to conciliate confidence? To negotiate with effect, you muſt relinquiſh your angry paſſions and your inveterate prejudices, which were the original cauſe of the war. If the country thinks the adminiſtration of the right honorable gentleman *a bleſſing*, they muſt chooſe between that bleſſing and peace. In a negotiation, ſuch as that we are now inveſtigating the merits of, a degree of frankneſs, perhaps imprudent in other circumſtances, would have been the trueſt and wiſeſt policy. The abilities of the right honorable gentleman are confeſſedly great in a certain line, and as far as certain purpoſes go; but they are not ſuited to the peculiar and critical circumſtances of the preſent times. It is now more neceſſary than at any other period to act with a noble and generous ſincerity; inſtead of which the whole tranſaction diſplays the marks of prevarication, ſubterfuge, and evaſion. Lord Malmeſbury, who had at firſt no terms to propoſe, was afterwards inſtructed to bring forward ſuch as could not be ſuppoſed to undergo much diſcuſſion—ſuch as could not fail readily to attain the *purpoſe* of being rejected. If ſuch conſequence attached to Belgium, that a peace could not be concluded without its reſtitution, ſurely the Cape and Ceylon

of government. The French know it as well as we do; and this knowledge governs their opinion of our ſincerity, much more than the formal declarations and diplomatic phraſes in uſe among miniſters."

'*Queſtion Stated*,' p. 12.

Such was the caſe in the former war. "This outrageous language relative to America," ſays Mr. Burke, in one of his political tracts, "which has been encouraged and kept alive by every art, has already done incredible miſchief.—Can it be true loyalty to any government to flatter their pride and paſſions, rather than to enlighten their reaſon?"

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lon ought to have been offered for it. It muſt be undoubtedly an object of great regret to ſee Belgium annexed to the territories of the republic: but when negotiating upon a profeſſed baſis of compenſation, let not miniſters offer braſs for gold. Could it be ſeriouſly expected that France would relinquiſh her conqueſts in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, for the pretended equivalent offered by the Engliſh ambaſſador? You muſt carry on the war for ever, unleſs your negotiations are reſumed on other terms than thoſe which have been rejected. The *ſine qua non*, with reſpect to Belgium, is evidently the cauſe of the abrupt, though perhaps not unexpected, iſſue of the miſſion of lord Malmeſbury. The ambaſſador having declared verbally, though in poſitive terms, to M. de la Croix, his majeſty's determination not to relax upon that point, was aſked for his *ultimatum* in writing, which being refuſed, he was then ordered to depart the kingdom. But are we likely, by the expenditure of a hundred thouſand more lives, and a hundred millions more money, to effect the recovery of Belgium by force of arms from the French? Will the miniſter declare, in plain terms, that the war is continued, and peace indefinitely removed, upon that hopeleſs contingency? Looking to the incapable and diſaſtrous manner in which the war has been conducted by the preſent miniſters, what have we to expect but a repetition of misfortunes—a continual progreſs from bad to worſe? I conjure the houſe to weigh the ſubject well, to conſider its immenſe importance, and to meet the queſtion openly and fairly. If the recovery of Belgium is in future to be the object of the war, let miniſters declare it explicitly, that the members of this houſe, and the public at large, may know to what extent they are pledged to the continuance of the preſent war, the conſequences of which were too dreadful to anticipate. With reſpect to the harſh language uſed by the French in the negotiation, had not that of miniſters been equally peremptory? We had declared our reſolution not to relinquiſh

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Ceylon and the Cape in terms as ſtrong as they had uſed not to relinquiſh Belgium. Upon what principle theſe reciprocal conqueſts were determined to be retained was, comparatively ſpeaking, of no moment. But had not the Conventional Aſſembly of France as good and valid a right to annex the Low Countries to the republic as the executive government of this country to annex Corſica to the crown of Great Britain? And would not the ſame language have been uſed by us, reſpecting Corſica, as the French had held reſpecting Belgium, if we had equally the power of enforcing it? After all, was the Imperial court a party to this demand? No; it was a *ſine qua non*, made in a matter which primarily concerned the emperor, but to which he had never formally aſſented, and which we did not know whether he himſelf would inſiſt upon."—Mr. Fox concluded a moſt luminous and maſterly ſpeech, of which the foregoing ſketch is a faint and feeble reſemblance, by moving, as an amendment to the addreſs, in ſubſtance, "that this houſe had learnt, with inexpreſſible concern, that the negotiation for the reſtoration of peace had been unhappily fruſtrated. In ſo awful and important a criſis the commons felt it their duty to ſpeak to his majeſty with that freedom and earneſtneſs which became men anxious to preſerve the honor of the crown, and to ſecure the intereſts of the people. They deplored that, from the memorials, &c. ſubmitted to their conſideration, his majeſty's miniſters appear not to have been ſo ſincere in their profeſſions for peace as their repeated declarations had indicated. The inſincerity of the overtures made for that purpoſe was to be inferred from their having inſiſted, as a *ſine qua non*, on the ſurrender of the Netherlands by France. That this houſe had farther to regret that his majeſty's miniſters had repeatedly refuſed to enter into any negotiation with the French republic, upon the arrogant and inſulting pretence that the government of France was not capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity amongſt nations; and on this unfounded aſſumption

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tion had adviſed his majeſty to continue a war ruinous in itſelf, after the defection of the major part of his majeſty's allies. That his faithful commons will therefore proceed to inveſtigate the cauſes of that miſconduct, on the part of his majeſty's miniſters, which has involved this nation in her preſent misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negotiation."—Upon the diviſion, previous to which, as on other critical queſtions, vaſt numbers of the members left the houſe, the amendment, thus powerfully enforced, was rejected by 212 to 37 voices.

THE ſtate of parties in Great Britain, at the commencement of the year 1797, was very extraordinary. The miniſter, Mr. Pitt, had now been in office thirteen years; and through a remarkable concurrence of circumſtances, though he had originally riſen into power by means the moſt queſtionable, and that power had appeared to reſt upon a foundation the moſt precarious, he was now ſupported in office by what might, on a tranſient view, be well miſtaken for the whole ſtrength and riches of the kingdom. He poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the king, of a vaſt majority of the two houſes of parliament, of the biſhops and clergy, of the landed proprietary, of the great monied and mercantile intereſts. To this vaſt combination what could be oppoſed?—Firſt, A comparatively-ſmall, but highly-reſpectable, minority of the different claſſes of the community here enumerated, at the head of whom it was confidently hoped and believed was the prince of Wales, whoſe natural ſagacity and liberality of diſpoſition had led him, after the firſt tranſient moments of alarm, to a total diſapproval of the weak and wicked ſyſtem of miniſterial policy:—and his ſentiments were not the leſs firm and deciſive becauſe his political prudence induced him to abſtain from an open and offenſive avowal of them. Secondly, A clear majority of houſe-holders of the middle ranks, who were much leſs under the influence of government than their ſuperiors, and

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whoſe alarms had never reached to the faſhionable pitch of extravagance. Thirdly, The generality of men of ſpeculation and literature, including not merely the theoriſts, who delighted in forming benevolent but viſionary ideas of reform, but that ſmall and highly-eſtimable claſs of men, combining with their literary and philoſophical acquirements a perfect knowledge of the great volumes of human nature and human life.—To adopt the language of the celebrated monarch of Pruſſia, "Il y a dans tous les états un nombre de citoyens, gens ſenſés, qui, loin du tumulte des affaires, les enviſagent ſans paſſion, et en jugent par la même ſainement; tandis que ceux qui tiennent en main le gouvernail ne voient les objets qu'avec des yeux faſcinés:"—ſuch were the men whom Mr. Pitt had reaſon to regard as his moſt deliberate and determined enemies. Fourthly, The bulk of the lower orders, who felt heavily and experimentally the evils, the miſchiefs, and burdens, of the war.—A remarkable inſtance of the animoſity of the populace againſt Mr. Pitt had occurred on the preceding 9th of November, when the miniſter, according to eſtabliſhed uſage, attending the annual feaſt at Guildhall, on the election of a lord-mayor, was treated by the mob aſſembled on the occaſion with every ſpecies of inſult and outrage. On advancing from St. Paul's to Cheapſide his carriage was violently aſſaulted, and, had not the doors been ſecured by internal faſtenings, it would have been forced open to the imminent danger of his perſon;—whilſt Mr. Fox, on the other hand, was received with all the popular demonſtrations of joy and affection.

In the courſe of the preſent war the remittances to the emperor and other foreign powers preſſed ſo heavily on the Bank of England, that early in the month of January, 1795, the court of directors informed the chancellor of the Exchequer, "that it was their wiſh he would arrange his finances for the year in ſuch a manner as not to depend on any further aſſiſtance from them." Theſe remonſtrances

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were renewed in the months of April and July in the ſame year; and on the 8th of October following they ſent a written paper to the miniſter, which concluded by ſtating "the abſolute neceſſity which they conceived to exiſt for diminiſhing the ſum of their preſent advances to government, the laſt having been granted with great reluctance, on their part, on his preſſing ſolicitations." In an interview with the chancellor of the Exchequer, which took place on the 23d of the ſame month, on the loans to the emperor being mentioned, the governor aſſured Mr. Pitt "that another loan of that ſort would go near to ruin the country." And on the 8th of November, 1795, the governor informed the chancellor of the Exchequer "that the daily large drains of ſpecie from the Bank filled the minds of the directors with ſerious apprehenſions; and that in the preſent ſituation of affairs he muſt not rely on any aids from them, not even the Vote of Credit and Supply bills."

In the courſe of the enſuing year, the re-iterated demands of Mr. Pitt appear to have occaſioned extreme uneaſineſs in the breaſt of the directors of the Bank, who neither knew how to comply or to refuſe. In the month of July, having applied for two advances of 800,000 *l.* each, one immediate, and the other in the courſe of the month, the court conſented reluctantly to accommodate the Treaſury with the firſt of theſe ſums, but ſignified their diſapproval of the ſecond demand. Mr. Pitt, on receiving a copy of the reſolutions from the governor, ſaid, "he was obliged to the court for what they did grant, which he ſhould accept of;" but added, "that it would be of no material uſe unleſs the other requiſition were complied with." And in a letter, dated July 28, 1796, he again urged the court of directors to advance the ſecond ſum of 800,000 *l.*—adding his "farther and earneſt requeſt that the Bank would alſo make proviſion for the payment of ſuch Treaſury bills as may become payable in the months of Auguſt, September, and October;—in default of which the moſt ſerious and diſtreſſing

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treſſing embarraſſments to the public ſervice muſt ariſe." The court, on the receipt of this letter, agreed "with great reluctance, and contrary to their wiſhes," to adopt their own words, "to advance the ſecond ſum of 800,000 *l.* and alſo to provide for the bills which ſhould fall due in the month of Auguſt, but not afterwards; and this upon condition the chancellor of the Exchequer will engage that a new mode of paying the Treaſury bills ſhall be adopted immediately on the meeting of parliament, as the court declared themſelves determined not to continue the preſent mode of diſcharging them any longer." This reſolution was accompanied by an excellent memorial preſented in form to Mr. Pitt by the governor, for the expreſs purpoſe of being laid before his majeſty's cabinet council. In this "ſerious and ſolemn remonſtrance," as they term it, the directors declare, "that nothing could induce them, under the preſent circumſtances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refuſal might be productive of a greater evil, and nothing but the extreme preſſure and exigency of the caſe can in any ſhape juſtify them for acceding to this meaſure; and they apprehend that in ſo doing they render themſelves totally incapable of granting any farther aſſiſtance to government during the remainder of this year, and unable even to make the uſual advances on the land and malt for the enſuing year, ſhould thoſe bills be paſſed before Chriſtmas. They likewiſe conſent to this meaſure in a firm reliance on the repeated promiſes, ſo frequently made to them, that the advances on the Treaſury bills ſhould be completely done away, being actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the neceſſary arrangements taken to prevent the ſame from ever happening again, as *they conceive it to be an* UNCONSTITUTIONAL *mode of* RAISING MONEY, *what they are* NOT WARRANTED *by their* CHARTER *to conſent to*, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themſelves." This memorial, which might ſurely have ſufficed to alarm any miniſter leſs daring in

in his ſchemes of miſchief, ſeemed to produce no ſort of effect; and the requiſitions of Mr. Pitt were ſtill as urgent and preſſing as ever. On the 1ſt of February, therefore, (1797), the governor and deputy-governor waited upon him, in order to repreſent how uneaſy the court were at their large advances for government, and eſpecially on the Treaſury bills paid, which now amounted to 1,554,635 *l.* and would, in a few days, be augmented to 1,819,818 *l.*; and required that ſome effective meaſure ſhould be immediately taken for the payment of the whole of this ſum, as had been ſo ſeriouſly promiſed them ſhould be done at the opening of this year. After much ſhuffling, Mr. Pitt engaged that 150,000 *l.* ſhould be paid off every week of the arrears of Treaſury bills, at the ſame time *hinting* that new bills, to the amount of 700,000 *l.* had appeared from St. Domingo; on which the governor expreſſed great apprehenſion, and begged that Mr. Pitt would put off the acceptance of them, acknowledging that a farther drain of caſh from the Bank would be very dangerous, as the quantity of ſpecie had been of late very materially diminiſhed.—Things now ſeemed to be coming faſt to a criſis. On the 10th of February Mr. Pitt propoſed a loan for Ireland of one million and a half. At an interview which took place on the 18th, the governor told him "that ſuch a ſcheme muſt have the worſt effect poſſible; that it would cauſe the ruin of the Bank; for that ſuch a loan raiſed here would all be ſent over in money to Ireland, and would drain much of our ſpecie from us." And at a meeting of the committee on the next day, the governor was authorized and enjoined to aſſure Mr. Pitt "that, under the preſent ſtate of the Bank's advances to government, ſuch a meaſure would threaten ruin to the houſe, and moſt probably bring them under the neceſſity of ſhutting up their doors." Mr. Pitt nevertheleſs perſiſted in his reſolution, declaring to the governor "that he found it to be a meaſure of government abſolutely neceſſary, notwithſtanding the difficulties and dangers which they foreſaw in the execution of it."

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The public apprehenſions, at this period, of an impending invaſion from France, and poſſibly alſo the ſecret ſuſpicion of the critical ſituation of the Bank, occaſioned a run upon the Company ſo great as to excite the utmoſt anxiety of mind amongſt the directors on the ſubject. Each day alarmingly increaſed the *deficit*. On the 24th of February the deputy-governor and Mr. Boſanquet had another interview with Mr. Pitt, in which, having now gone by far too great lengths to retract, laying aſide their high tone of admonition and remonſtrance, they in a manner threw themſelves and the Company at the feet of this deſpot-miniſter, "requeſting of him to ſay how far he thought the Bank might venture to go on paying caſh, and when he would think it neceſſary to interfere before the caſh was ſo reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate ſervice of the ſtate." Mr. Pitt, having thus brought the Company by his wily arts to the brink of ruin, ſeemed mightily to exult; and ſaid, in a tone very different from that of humble ſolicitation, "that this was a matter of great importance, and that he muſt be prepared with ſome reſolution to bring forward in the council for a proclamation to ſtop the iſſue of caſh from the Bank, and to give the ſecurity of parliament to the notes of the Bank; in conſequence of which he ſhould think it might be proper to appoint a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons to look into the ſtate of the Bank affairs."

In conformity to this intimation a board of council was held, and an order publiſhed on the 26th of February prohibiting the directors from "iſſuing any caſh in payment till the ſenſe of parliament can be taken on that ſubject, and the proper meaſures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and ſupporting the public and commercial credit of the country at this important conjuncture."

On the following day a copy of the order of council was laid before the two houſes of parliament, accompanied with a meſſage from the king, ſtating "that an unuſual demand of

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of ſpecie having been made from different parts of the country on the metropolis, it had been found neceſſary to make an order of council to the directors of the Bank, prohibiting the iſſuing of any caſh in payment till the ſenſe of parliament could be taken." In both houſes general addreſſes of thanks for his majeſty's gracious communications were voted, and committees of ſecreſy appointed to inveſtigate the affairs of the Bank of England. In the courſe of the debates which enſued, very ſevere cenſure and reproach were dealt out againſt thoſe who had brought the country into this novel and perilous ſituation, of which no one could divine the iſſue. It was remarked, that when the miniſter preſumed to plead neceſſity in juſtification of an act of power ſo alarming, he ought at leaſt to have been prepared to ſhew that the neceſſity had been occaſioned by no fault of his own: on the contrary, it was his unparalleled raſhneſs and obſtinacy which had created the neceſſity altogether. Let him repay the directors the ten millions they had advanced in dependence upon his re-iterated and faithleſs promiſes: let him refund the vaſt ſums he had illegally and unconſtitutionally remitted to the continent; and the difficulties they labored under would ceaſe. It was not that the Bank were unable to ſatisfy their creditors, but it was the continued demand of money to feed the expenſes of this ravenous and diſaſtrous war which compelled them to be unjuſt. The directors, in contradiction to their better judgment, were trepanned and inveigled by the miniſter into the diſgraceful predicament in which they ſtood; and the fatal order of council at laſt impoſed upon them was adopted only as the leaſt of the evils to which they were ſubjected. At length an amendment was propoſed by Mr. Sheridan to Mr. Pitt's motion for the appointment of a committee—"That the ſaid committee ſhould be alſo empowered to enquire into the cauſes which had produced the order of council of the 26th of February laſt," which was, after much debate, negatived by 244 to 86 voices.

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On the 1ſt of March Mr. Fox moved that a ſeparate committee ſhould be appointed for the purpoſe above mentioned. This was vehemently objected to by Mr. Pitt as wholly ſuperfluous; which indeed was, in a ſenſe moſt diſgraceful to himſelf, but too true.—It was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Windham, who, beſtowing high eulogiums on the miniſter, was reminded of his former memorable threat while yet adverſe to the ſyſtem he now ſupported—'that he would ſtrip off the right honorable gentleman's embroidery, and expoſe to view the filthy dowlas which lay concealed beneath it.'—Mr. Wilberforce likewiſe, renouncing all pretenſion to that reſpect which is due to candor and conſiſtency, heſitated not to declare "that, from the commencement of the war, much of the public calamity was owing to the conduct of oppoſition!" To that fickle and faithleſs part of the oppoſition, indeed, which voted alternately for and againſt the miniſter, without ſenſe or ſyſtem, this cenſure was but too clearly and directly applicable.—Mr. Fox, in remarking upon the neceſſity of the propoſed enquiry, aſked, "Whether any man breathing had any doubt of the ſolidity of the Bank before the miniſter laid his rapacious hands upon the treaſure depoſited there, and which he had applied to the moſt unlawful and unconſtitutional purpoſes? Enquiry," he ſaid, "was, at all events, indiſpenſable; for, to uſe the celebrated argument of Demoſthenes to the Athenians, if it ſhould appear that the deplorable ſituation of the country was brought on by the groſs miſconduct of the miniſter, then the people would have the conſolation to reflect that their affairs might yet be retrieved; but if, as the miniſter aſſerted, affairs had been conducted wiſely and well, then the people could expect nothing but inevitable ruin."—The houſe divided: for the motion 67, againſt it 141.

Upon the report of the committee, it appeared that the amount of demands upon the Bank was 13,770,000 *l.*; that their aſſets, excluſive of the permanent debt due from government,

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vernment, amounted to the ſum of 17,597,000 *l.*; ſo that there remained a ſurplus of 3,826,000 *l.* excluſive of the capital ſum of 11,600,000 *l.* three-per-cent. ſtock, lent at different times to government, on parliamentary ſecurity. This being eſtimated at fifty per cent. agreeably to the actual price of the three-per-cents. the whole of the capital veſted in the corporation of the Bank, after the payment of debts, amounted to the vaſt ſum of 9,626,000 *l.* The publication of this report immediately allayed, and almoſt extinguiſhed, the exceſſive alarm excited in the mercantile world by the ſtoppage of the Bank. A bill was forthwith introduced, confirming the order of council, and ſuſpending the law for preventing the iſſue of notes under five pounds' value; in conſequence of which the circulation of ſpecie was ſuſpended, and the kingdom inundated with notes of twenty ſhillings' and forty ſhillings' value. A clauſe of the utmoſt importance was alſo inſerted for preventing any perſon from being held to bail who offered Bank-of-England notes in diſcharge of debts; which was going, to every practical purpoſe, the length of making them a legal tender. But as government-collectors and officers of the revenue were not only permitted, but obliged, by a clauſe of the bill, to receive theſe notes in payment of taxes, immenſe as they were now become, no conſiderable inconvenience was in fact felt from this extraordinary ſtate of things by any claſs or deſcription of perſons. The notes themſelves ſuffered not the leaſt depreciation; and the diſaſtrous conſequences which might, with great probability, have previouſly been ſuppoſed to reſult from the daring and deſperate conduct of the miniſter, were happily found to be fallacious.

On the 10th of March Mr. Sheridan moved ſeveral reſolutions relative to the Bank, of which the moſt remarkable went to the reſtoration of the important clauſe in the original act of king William, reſtraining the Bank from making any advances to government but on funds granted by parliament,

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liament, under the penalty of forfeiting treble the amount, and which was moſt inſidiouſly repealed by Mr. Pitt in the ſeſſion of 1793. But ſo far were the directors of the Bank from concurring in this meaſure, that they made it an expreſs ſubject of their complaint that they were required to advance money to government in an unconſtitutional manner. This was negatived by the accuſtomed miniſterial majority.—The houſe being in committee upon the Bank Bill, Mr. Fox gave notice of an amendment to the ſecond clauſe, "That the Bank ſhould be prohibited from making any advances to government, by which the exiſting debt ſhould be increaſed, during the continuance of the preſent act." Had this amendment, ſo obvious and rational, been carried, all Mr. Pitt's views of future and greater *accommodation* would have been fruſtrated; but it was, as uſual, negatived at the inſtance of the miniſter, who had now completely ſucceeded in converting the Bank of England into a mere engine of government, in bringing an indelible diſgrace on its reputation, and in making it entirely ſubſervient to the advancement of his own ruinous, wicked, and frantic projects.

On the report of the committee on the Bank Bill, ſir William Pulteney propoſed a clauſe, the object of which was to enable the Bank to reſcind the reſtrictions of the bill at any period leſs diſtant than the 24th of June, to which it was originally limited. But this was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and negatived, though by 36 voices only.

On the 24th of April, when the ſupplies of the year were ſuppoſed to be voted, and the exigencies of government fully provided for, Mr. Pitt ſuddenly came forward with propoſals for a ſecond loan, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and covering a vaſt maſs of floating and unfunded debt, conſiſting of Exchequer-bills, Navy-bills, &c. adding alſo a vote of credit for three millions, with a view to another prodigal remittance to the emperor. The whole ſum propoſed to be funded was preciſely eighteen millions,

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millions, as before; and for every 100 *l.* in money, 175 *l.* three-per-cent. and 20 *l.* four-per-cent. ſtock were to be granted by government, together with a long-annuity of 6 *s.* 6 *d.* For the intereſt of this ſecond ſtupendous loan, raiſed upon terms ſo exorbitantly uſurious, taxes were again impoſed to the amount of 1,284,000 *l.* which, conjointly with the taxes of the preceding loan, made up the ſum of 3,416,000 *l.* Such were the immenſe and incredible ſupplies which Mr. Pitt could extort from the people of England in a ſingle ſeſſion, in order to carry on the preſent incomprehenſible war; although, when a ſinking fund was to be created ten years previous to this period, he could never deviſe the ways and means of raiſing one ſolitary million for that moſt ſalutary and important of all purpoſes—the redemption of the public debt! And ſo incorrect—or, to ſpeak plainly and properly, ſo deteſtably deceitful—had been the eſtimates preſented to the houſe from time to time, that, in the four years which had now elapſed ſince the commencement of the preſent war, about fifty-one millions had been contracted with, and more than forty-nine millions without, the previous conſent of parliament, as appeared by the papers laid before the houſe.

On the firſt of May Mr. Pitt moved for a loan of three millions and a half to the emperor, of which 1,600,000 *l.* had been already remitted. Alſo another loan of one million and a half for the ſervice of Ireland. The ſum of 80,000 *l.* was moreover granted as a portion to the princeſs-royal, on her marriage to the duke of Wirtemberg.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Dundas brought forward his ſtatement of India finance; and in his ſpeech upon this occaſion he apprized the houſe, that though there appeared to be, from various cauſes, a decreaſe of revenue, owing to a diminution in the ſale of certain articles during the war, and an increaſe of military arrangements, the Company's affairs were, notwithſtanding, as favourable and as flouriſhing as the moſt ſanguine perſon could wiſh; and the reſolu-

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tions moved by him in affirmance of his ſtatement were agreed to with little oppoſition.

Addreſſes to the throne, of a pacific tendency, were alſo moved, during the ſeſſion, by the earl of Oxford in the upper houſe, and by Mr. Pollen (one of the few proſelytes from the majority) in the commons, giving riſe to debates, in which the queſtions reſpecting the conduct of miniſters relative to the war, and the late abortive attempt at negotiation, were again ably and copiouſly diſcuſſed without producing any ſenſible effect. Mr. Pitt had the boldneſs, on this occaſion, to declare to the houſe, "that peace did not depend upon their declarations, which were more likely to fruſtrate than to accelerate this object." Strange doctrine from one who had been himſelf a party in the declarations of the houſe which had been the means of terminating the American war! "We have tried the executive government," ſaid Mr. Fox in anſwer, "long enough to be convinced that no good would be done by confiding in the promiſe of miniſters any longer. Let us not perpetually *talk* of our wiſhes for peace; let us uſe means for obtaining it. Let us truſt miniſters no longer; LET US VOTE for PEACE." The diviſion in the upper houſe was 16 to 52,* and in the lower 85 to 291.

So

* The addreſs moved by the earl of Oxford was excellently framed, and is, from its merit, entitled to inſertion at full length. His lordſhip moved "That an addreſs might be preſented to the throne, to repreſent to his majeſty, that, in the preſent alarming ſituation of the country, the houſe conſidered it to be its duty to apprize him of his own danger and of the ruin which threatened the nation. That the ſhock which had been lately given to public credit muſt deprive us of thoſe means whereby we were enabled to hold our rank amongſt nations, unleſs we were relieved from our preſent enormous expenditure by an immediate, ſincere, and laſting peace. That the houſe ſaw with concern that the late negotiation was broken off by the conduct and demands of his majeſty's miniſters, and not by want of diſpoſition for peace on the part of the French. That, in anſwer to the note delivered by Mr. Wickham, the Directory declared, that, 'yielding to the ardent deſire to procure peace, it would not fear to expreſs itſelf openly: charged by the conſtitution with the execution of the laws, it could not make or liſten to any propoſal which would be contrary to them: the

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So early as the month of February, in the preſent year, it was obſerved that ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction appeared on board the Channel-fleet; and ſome anonymous but not ill-written letters were received by lord Howe, 'the ſeamen's friend,' from Portſmouth, ſtating their grievances, and requeſting his intereſt to obtain redreſs. Theſe complaints were not of a political but perſonal nature, and related chiefly to the very bad quality of their proviſions, and to the ſcantineſs of their allowance, notwithſtanding the incredible extravagance of expenditure in the Navy and Victualling offices. Theſe intimations being unfortunately neglected, on the return of the fleet to port, March 31, a general correſpondence took place by letter from ſhip to ſhip, and at length it was unanimouſly agreed that no ſhip ſhould lift an anchor till the demands of the ſeamen were complied with. On the 14th of April, lord Bridport, the admiral, unſuſpicious of the mutiny, making a ſignal to prepare for ſea, the ſeamen of his own ſhip, inſtead of weighing anchor, ran up the ſhrouds, and gave three cheers, which were inſtantly anſwered from the other ſhips.

Delegates

Conſtitutional Act did not permit it to conſent to any alienation of that which, according to the laws, conſtituted the territory of the republic.' That it was impoſſible his majeſty's miniſters could have miſunderſtood this declaration; for in the note dated Downing-ſtreet were theſe words: 'To a demand ſuch as this is added a declaration that no propoſal contrary to it will be made or liſtened to.' That ſix months afterwards the miniſters again made overtures for peace; but in ſo ungracious a manner that their ſincerity might reaſonably be queſtioned; and demanded, as their SINE QUA NON, thoſe very terms which, before they began their negotiation, THEY KNEW WOULD BE REFUSED. That, under all theſe circumſtances, the houſe humbly and earneſtly entreated his majeſty to enter into a negotiation upon ſuch terms as France would be likely to liſten and accede to and in ſuch a manner as would leave no doubt of a pacific intention. And the houſe begged leave to aſſure his majeſty that it would entertain no doubt of the ſucceſs of ſuch a negotiation; and would feel confidence, after the reſtoration of peace, that ſuch wiſe regulations might be adopted by the legiſlature as would relieve the people from their burdens, remove every complaint of unequal repreſentation, reſtore their antient conſtitution, and enſure to his majeſty the affections of his ſubjects,—the glory, proſperity, and happineſs, of his future reign."

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Delegates were then appointed from each ſhip to repreſent the whole fleet, who met in the admiral's cabin; and petitions being drawn up, were preſented to the admirals then on the ſpot, praying for an increaſe of wages, and the eſtabliſhment of various regulations reſpecting proviſions; and expreſſing their hope that a ſatisfactory anſwer might be given to their petitions before they were ordered to put to ſea again; qualified, however, with the remarkable exception, 'unleſs the enemy were known to be at ſea.' On the 17th the men were publicly ſworn to ſupport the cauſe in which they were engaged. On the next day a committee of the Admiralty, with earl Spencer at their head, arrived at Portſmouth, who made ſeveral propoſitions to reduce the men to obedience. The lords of the Admiralty next proceeded on board the Queen Charlotte, and conferred with the delegates from the ſeamen of the fleet, who aſſured their lordſhips that no arrangement would be conſidered as final until it ſhould be ſanctioned by the king and parliament, and guarantied by a proclamation for a general pardon. On the 23d the admiral returned to his ſhip, hoiſted his flag again, and, after a ſhort addreſs to the crew, he informed them that he had brought with him a redreſs of all their grievances, and his majeſty's pardon for the offenders. After ſome deliberation, theſe offers were accepted, and every man returned with cheerfulneſs to his duty. But, in conſequence of a moſt hazardous and reprehenſible delay in bringing this buſineſs before parliament, the ſpirit of mutiny was again excited, and on the 7th of May, when lord Bridport once more made the ſignal to put to ſea, every ſhip at St. Helen's refuſed to obey. Admiral Colpoys, who attempted the reſtoration of diſcipline, was put under arreſt, and ſeveral lives were loſt in a ſkirmiſh between the ſeamen and marines. Immediate intelligence of this new and alarming inſtance of diſobedience being tranſmitted to London, Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of May, thought fit at length to introduce the ſubject into the houſe of commons, and moved for

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the ſum of 372,000*l.* for nine months' increaſed pay and allowance of proviſions, commencing from the 1ſt of April, requeſting that this motion might paſs the houſe, to avoid all miſrepreſentation by a ſilent vote. Mr. Fox ſaid, "that it was by ſilence and the want of diſcuſſion the miſchief had happened. If, when it was firſt known that the ſeamen were diſſatisfied, the houſe had been conſidered as entitled to the confidence of miniſters, and the buſineſs had been properly diſcuſſed, the events of Eaſter would not have taken place. But the delay which had intervened ſeemed purpoſely meant to give ſcope for miſrepreſentation." After an angry debate, the reſolution paſſed.

On the ſucceeding day the ſubject was revived by Mr. Whitbread, who declared, that unleſs a ſatisfactory explanation was given reſpecting that fatal delay, for which the miniſter ſtood reſponſible to that houſe and the country, it was his intention to move a direct vote of cenſure againſt him. Mr. Pitt ſtill perſiſted in his ſilence; ſaying only "that the neceſſary time had been taken for *preparing eſtimates*." After ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the part of oppoſition, a meſſage was ſent to the lords, to deſire that they would continue ſitting for ſome time; and the bill, founded upon the reſolutions of Mr. Pitt, was brought in, and paſſed through all its ſtages in both houſes in one day.

Lord Howe was immediately diſpatched to Portſmouth as the welcome meſſenger of this intelligence, bearing alſo, with the Act of Parliament, his majeſty's proclamation of pardon for all who ſhould forthwith return to their duty. This celebrated veteran was received with the loudeſt acclamations of affection and applauſe; the officers were reinſtated in their commands, the flag of diſaffection was ſtruck, and the fleet put to ſea to encounter the enemy.

However ſpeedily and happily this mutiny had been appeaſed, the example was very dangerous, and it was immediately followed by the North-Sea fleet lying at the Nore, under the command of admiral Buckner, conſiſting of eleven ſhips

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ſhips of the line and as many of inferior ſize. The mutineers, in imitation of what had been done at Portſmouth, choſe delegates from every ſhip, of whom a man, named Parker, was appointed preſident. After having either confined or ſent on ſhore their principal officers, they tranſmitted to the lords of the Admiralty a ſeries of articles or conditions to which they peremptorily demanded compliance, as the only terms upon which they would return to obedience; though ſeveral of them were of a nature totally different from thoſe inſiſted upon at Portſmouth, and altogether incompatible with the diſcipline of the navy. On the 23d of May the mutineers hoiſted a red flag on board the admiral's ſhip the Sandwich, and dropped down to the Great Nore, in order to concentrate the ſcene of their operations. The mutiny having now ariſen to a moſt alarming height, a deputation of the lords of the Admiralty, earl Spencer himſelf, as before, being at the head, proceeded to Sheerneſs, and offered to the delegates the ſame terms which had been already accepted at Portſmouth with gratitude. But ſuch was the inſolence of this convention, that they inſiſted upon unconditional ſubmiſſion to their demands, as a neceſſary preliminary to any intercourſe whatever. On which the deputation departed, after previouſly declaring, in firm language, "that the ſeamen were to expect no conceſſions whatever further than what had been already made by the legiſlature."

With the view of extorting compliance with their requiſitions, the mutineers now proceeded to block up the Thames, refuſing a free paſſage up and down the river to the London trade, ſupplying themſelves with water and proviſions from the ſhips which they detained. Meaſures were now alſo adopted on the part of government to enforce ſubmiſſion. All intercourſe with the ſhore was ſtrictly prohibited; batteries were erected with furnaces for red-hot balls; gun-boats prepared; and, what extremely perplexed the mutineers, all the buoys were removed from the mouth of

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the Thames. The council of delegates now began in ſome degree to relent, and lord Northeſk, captain of the Monmouth, who had been hitherto kept in confinement, was releaſed, with a meſſage from the preſident Parker to "the KING, wherever he might be," ſtating the ultimate conditions on which the ſhips would be given up. His lordſhip accompanying earl Spencer into the royal preſence, accordingly delivered his meſſage; and a privy-council being held upon the occaſion, the demands of the ſeamen were again reſolutely rejected. This being ſignified to the mutineers, ſymptoms of apprehenſion began to appear, and, on the 10th of June, ſeveral of the ſhips ſtruck the red flag and hoiſted the union; but no overtures were made to them. On the 13th, the Ajax, Standard, and Naſſau, ſeparating from the fleet, went under the protection of the guns at the fort of Sheerneſs. This excited deſpair in the remainder; and, on the ſame day, a reſolution was taken to ſubmit to the king's mercy. Parker himſelf, who had in vain, and at too late a period, propoſed putting to ſea, ſurrendering quietly to a guard of ſoldiers, who had orders from admiral Buckner to put him under arreſt; and, with about thirty other delegates, he was accordingly committed to the *black-hole* in the garriſon of Sheerneſs. One of the delegates, Wallace, on the firſt appearance of the ſoldiers, in that ſpirit of heroic deſperation which might rather have been expected from preſident Parker, ſhot himſelf dead upon the ſpot. Parker being immediately brought to his trial before a court-martial, conſiſting of captains in the navy, was executed in a few days after on board the Sandwich. He died with reſolution, but diſcovered no indications, either during the continuance of the mutiny, or ſubſequent to its ſuppreſſion, of ſuperior parts or ſagacity. Had his talents been equal to his ſituation he might have made himſelf very formidable to the government. The court-martial continued ſitting more than a month, during which time great numbers were capitally convicted, very many of whom

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whom ſuffered the ſentence of death; and it was not till after a long interval that a general pardon was granted, burdened alſo with many exceptions.

On the 21ſt of March the earl of Moira made an important motion in the houſe of lords for an addreſs to his majeſty, "That he would be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe his paternal interference to remedy the diſcontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the moſt ſerious alarm for that country and the deareſts intereſts of Britain." His lordſhip acknowledged that the utmoſt care ought to be taken not to exceed the line of demarcation between the two legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland, and the utmoſt delicacy employed in the agitation of queſtions in which the privileges and independence of each other were involved. But he conceived the preſent motion to relate to a matter of common concern and mutual intereſt, upon which both countries had an equal right to ſtand forward. His lordſhip deprecated unprofitable diſputation;—the time was now come when the exertions of every honeſt man were neceſſary to ſave the ſtate from the calamities in which it was plunged. To prove the influence of the Britiſh cabinet over the councils of Ireland, if that could be a ſubject of doubt, he adverted to the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, at a period when all Ireland applauded the wiſdom of his meaſures—when that country afforded the faireſt proſpect of tranquillity, and offered the ſureſt pledge of aſſiſtance and ſupport to Britain. To the impolicy of that meaſure, the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, his lordſhip ſaid, was undoubtedly to be imputed; and he urged the neceſſity of appeaſing the exiſting diſcontents of the country, and of adopting ſuch meaſures as would impreſs the people with confidence in the government.

Lord Grenville, in reply, pretended "that the preſent motion could not be adopted without tearing aſunder every bond of union, and breaking the ſolemn contract ſubſiſting between the two countries. He even ventured to deny the exiſtence

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exiſtence of diſcontent and diſaffection to any conſiderable extent; but allowing that they actually prevailed, the benevolence of his majeſty's diſpoſition muſt be anxious to remove them. Inſtead of remedying diſcontents, the motion now offered to the houſe would inflame them, and induce the Iriſh to imagine their own legiſlature was careleſs of their welfare."

Lord Fitzwilliam ſaid "he never would concur with the noble ſecretary that this country ought not to give any opinion upon the public ſituation of Ireland. Such interference, for the purpoſe of averting evils from both, was proper, and the right was clear.—The people of Ireland were reported, alas! by the noble ſecretary, to be tranquil and happy. Why then were whole pariſhes, baronies, and even counties, declared to be out of the king's peace? Was this tranquillity? Was this happineſs? Was this a ſtate of things by which this country was in no danger of being affected? This was a period," his lordſhip ſaid, "of awful portent. Storms and tempeſts impended over them, and it was their duty to exert every effort of human wiſdom to avert the danger which threatened the empire. And was it then beyond the proper ſphere of their lordſhip's conſideration to addreſs his majeſty to employ his paternal care in co-operation with, and giving effect to, theſe efforts and exertions."

The earl of Liverpool, late lord Hawkeſbury, and ſtill better known under the name of Charles Jenkinſon—who might almoſt be regarded as the evil genius of Britain perſonified---gave it as his opinion, "that the motion was improper, whether intended to induce them in their legiſlative capacity to interfere in the affairs of Ireland, or to adviſe his majeſty to exerciſe his executive authority in a particular way over that branch of the empire. Granting even, *for the ſake of argument*, that all the evils complained of really exiſted, ſtill he would contend they ought to be remedied by the Iriſh parliament, not by the Britiſh legiſla-

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ture, whoſe interference was calculated to aggravate, not remove, diſcontents. The motion was as miſchievous in its tendency as it was unconſtitutional in its principle."

The earl of Guildford obſerved, "that the argument of the ſecretary went not to protect the independence of the Iriſh parliament ſo much as to ſecure miniſters from reſponſibility. Neither the Britiſh cabinet, nor an Iriſh lord-lieutenant, were reſponſible to the Iriſh parliament: and if they were exempted alſo from the control of the Britiſh parliament, to whom were they reſponſible?"

The marquis of Lanſdown warned the miniſters "that they were proſecuting a ſyſtem in Ireland which would, in its conſequences, ſhake the Britiſh empire to its centre. If the grievances of Ireland had been redreſſed laſt year, the motion before the houſe would have been unneceſſary: if not redreſſed this, the breach muſt grow ſtill wider. Give the people of Ireland," ſaid this noble lord, "their rights, and you will require neither fleets nor armies to protect them."—After a long and intereſting debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 72 to 20 voices.

Two days ſubſequent to this debate, Mr. Fox brought forward, in the houſe of commons, an addreſs to the king, ſimilar to that of lord Moira, which he enforced in a ſpeech admired even by his enemies, and juſtly applauded by his friends, as a maſter-piece of eloquence and political wiſdom. Mr. Fox declared, "that the bulk of the Iriſh nation ſighed for the ſubſtantial bleſſing of a free-conſtitution; and when he ſaw, as at the eve of the American conteſt, a government deſirous to decide by violence againſt the will of a majority, he clearly ſaw, as at that period, the danger of a civil war. He was the firſt perſon who pronounced the words 'American War' in that houſe; and the expreſſion was then ridiculed as abſurd and extravagant. Some would, no doubt, treat the idea of an Iriſh War with the ſame contempt; and he ſincerely wiſhed that he might not be found ſo true a prophet as in the former inſtance. Ireland was now in that

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ſtate where the executive power was every thing, and the rights of the people nothing; and in which it was neceſſary to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection by force. But was it poſſible to convince them by the bayonet that their principles were falſe, their pretenſions unjuſt? and was the exerciſe of martial law to prove to them their enjoyment of a free conſtitution? What muſt be the effect of ſuch meaſures? Would it not induce the moſt loyal to queſtion the excellence of that monarchical form of government under which they ſuffered ſuch calamities? When we wanted the aſſiſtance of the Catholics, was it politic to refuſe their demands? or would their ſubmiſſion to laws they deteſted laſt longer than our force and their impotency? For myſelf," ſaid this great ſtateſman, "I know of no way of governing mankind but by conciliating them. If Ireland is thus governed, will ſhe be leſs uſeful to Britain than at preſent, when, ſo far from adding to the ſtrength of the empire, ſhe occaſions a great and powerful diverſion from it? The conſequences of a war with her were dreadful to contemplate—Public horrors would be ſo much increaſed by the laceration of private feelings, as to ſpread univerſal miſery through both countries. Rigor had been already attempted;—let conciliation be tried before the laſt appeal is hazarded. Let the whole people of Ireland enjoy the ſame principles, the ſame ſyſtem, the ſame operation of government, and all claſſes an equal chance of emolument. The more Ireland feels the advantages of her connection with England, the more will ſhe be bound to Engliſh intereſts." —Mr. Fox touched next upon the removal of lord Fitzwilliam. He aſked thoſe who beſt knew the country, "whether the day of his departure was not a day of ſorrow? The Catholic petition was rejected; and the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ireland had been produced by the hopes of the people being diſappointed, and by the cup of enjoyment and liberty having been ſuddenly daſhed from their lips." He concluded his ſpeech by moving an addreſs to his majeſty,

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jeſty, " that he would be pleaſed to take into conſideration the diſturbed ſtate of Ireland, and to adopt ſuch lenient meaſures as might appear beſt calculated to reſtore tranquillity and conciliate affection."

The motion was ſeconded by ſir Francis Burdett, a young man of great perſonal and political rectitude of character, accompanied with high and lofty ſentiments of liberty, which time and experience only were wanting to mellow and mature. This gentleman, without heſitation, avowed his opinion, " that there was but one way of ſaving Ireland---of ſaving England; and that was by diveſting the preſent miniſter of the power he had ſo long and ſo fatally abuſed, and calling him to a ſtrict account at the tribunal of his country."

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion as improperly calculated to adviſe his majeſty to give effect to meaſures which, conſtitutionally, could originate only in the parliament of Ireland, the natural ſource of legiſlative arrangements in that country. He objected alſo to the meaſures meant to be recommended by the motion, and affirmed that farther conceſſions would be highly imprudent on our part. By introducing Catholics into the legiſlative body, the acts of ſettlement, and the very exiſtence of the eſtabliſhed church in that kingdom, would be endangered; nor was it upon ſuch a foundation that he would build the future fabric of the peace of Ireland. To agree to any eſſential alteration of the preſent conſtitution of parliament, while ſuch principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in this country, would be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences."---The ſpeech of Mr. Pitt gave occaſion to a maſterly reply from Mr. Fox; at the cloſe of which he obſerved, " that he had been a long time deprecating coercive meaſures. He had deprecated the adoption of them againſt America in 1774: he deprecated them againſt France in 1792; and he now deprecated the ſame ſyſtem in Ireland. Though his advice had not been followed, it was a conſolation

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lation to him, individually, that it had not been withheld. Meaſures of coercion had proceeded from the ſame ſource. War had been preferred to negotiation, and force to conciliation; becauſe, inſtead of regulating our plans by a mild and enlightened policy, we had acted upon the maxims of barbarous times. And quoting the words of CICERO, he recommended the ſentiment inculcated in them to the ſerious conſideration of every perſon to whom the important taſk of legiſlation was aſſigned. 'Carum eſſe civibus, bene de republicâ mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, glorioſum eſt: metui vero et in odio eſſe, invidiorum, deteſtabile, imbecillum, caducum.'—After a variety of ſpeeches on both ſides, the houſe divided; for the motion 84, againſt it 220—a majority proportionably leſs than uſual.

In the courſe of the ſpring many popular meetings were held agreeably to the reſtrictions of the new act, and ſome faint hopes were excited that the ſpirit of the people would be at length rouzed to ſomething like national exertion. The object of theſe meetings was to petition the king for the removal of miniſters. That from the city of Weſtminſter was remarkably full and ſtrong, and attracted much attention. It commenced by ſtating the uncontrovertible facts, "that in the four years' proſecution of the preſent war miniſters had ſquandered upwards of 130 millions of money, and had impoſed taxes to the amount of ſix millions and a half annually." The petition then proceeds in the following terms:—"We humbly repreſent to your majeſty, that in the hands of thoſe miniſters nothing has ſucceeded. Inſtead of reſtoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recogniſe the republic there eſtabliſhed, and to offer propoſals of peace to it. Inſtead of diſmembering the territories of that republic, they have ſuffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and great part of Italy and Germany: and even a part of theſe kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have inſulted, has only

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only been preſerved from the calamities of an invaſion by the accidents of the ſeaſons.

" In their negotiations for peace they have been equally unſucceſsful. It was to be expected. When they aſked peace they were abject, but not ſincere; they acknowledged their impotence, but not their errors. They diſcovered the moſt hoſtile diſpoſitions towards France at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her.

" When they wanted to obtain our conſent to the war, they aſſured us that it was neceſſary for the ſafety of our commerce. At this moment moſt of the ports of Europe are ſhut againſt us; goods to an immenſe amount are lying upon the hands of our merchants, and the manufacturing poor are ſtarving by thouſands.

" They aſſured us the war was neceſſary for the preſervation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property ſubject to an order of the privy-council, and the Bank of England has ſtopped payment.

" They aſſured us that the war was neceſſary for the preſervation of the conſtitution. They have deſtroyed its beſt part, which is its liberty, by oppreſſive reſtrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the preſs; by proſecuting innocent men under falſe pretences; by ſending money to foreign princes without the conſent of parliament; while, by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they give us reaſon to ſuſpect their intention of finally ſubjecting the people to military deſpotiſm.

" They aſſured us the war was neceſſary for the preſervation of the unity of the empire. But they have ſo conducted, and are ſtill ſo conducting, themſelves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, but oppreſſed and perſecuted nation, and to expoſe the moſt flouriſhing of its provinces to all the horrors of lawleſs military

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" Theſe are no common errors, they are great crimes; and of theſe crimes, before GOD and our country, we accuſe your miniſters.—They have tarniſhed the national honor and glory; they have oppreſſed the poor with almoſt intolerable burdens; they have poiſoned the intercourſe of private life; they have given a fatal blow to public credit; they have divided the empire, and they have ſubverted the conſtitution."

Theſe petitions encouraged the members of oppoſition in both houſes to bring forward motions of the ſame tenor and purport. On the 27th of March the earl of Suffolk, after premiſing a few general obſervations on the alarming ſituation of public affairs, and on the character of the firſt miniſter, Mr. Pitt, whom he ſtigmatized as incapable in every reſpect, except in the arts of deceiving,—declared " that he conſidered it as a duty which he owed to himſelf, his king, and his country, to move, that an addreſs might be preſented to his majeſty, humbly requeſting him to diſmiſs from his councils his miniſter, the firſt lord of the Treaſury, whoſe pernicious meaſures had deprived him of the confidence of the country."—Lord Grenville warmly vindicated the character of his friend, Mr. Pitt, " the failure of any of whoſe meaſures, he was certain, could be juſtly attributed only to thoſe errors to which human nature was at all times liable—to thoſe accidents which no human wiſdom could prevent, or to thoſe diſpenſations of Providence which no human power could control; and he complained that the charges againſt him were not ſubſtantiated by proofs."—The duke of Norfolk, in reply remarked, " that the proofs were every-where; they preſented themſelves to every eye, they made impreſſions upon every heart, they compoſed a living epitaph upon the infatuation of miniſters—*ſi monumentum quæris circumſpice.*"—The earl of Moira thought the preſent motion highly neceſſary. " The miſmanagement of miniſters had brought us to the diſaſtrous ſituation we were in, and they could not too ſoon be deprived of the power they

they had ſo groſsly abuſed:"—The marquis of Lanſdown, in anſwer to lord Grenville, who had boaſted that the country had been preſerved from Jacobinical principles by the laudable exertions of his majeſty's miniſters, ſaid, "that, he believed there were very few perſons of thoſe principles in this kingdom; and that he knew of no ſuch practical Jacobins as the miniſters themſelves. They had baniſhed gold and ſilver from circulation; they had taken up the paper ſyſtem at the time France had laid it down; they had recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, military force, and pretended plots, with every article of Jacobiniſm as it had been previouſly practiſed in France: It was the virtuous juries of 1794 which defeated the Robeſpierrian ſyſtem attempted to be eſtabliſhed in this country by his majeſty's miniſters."—The motion was finally rejected by a majority of 86 to 16 voices.

On the 19th of May the ſubject was brought forward in the lower houſe by Mr. Alderman Combe, one of the repreſentatives for the city of London, who prefaced his motion for an addreſs to the king, beſeeching him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters, with ſome very ſeaſonable and appoſite remarks. "By miniſters," he ſaid, "the war had been frequently declared both juſt and neceſſary. In both theſe points he had always differed from them. But from the authors and approvers of the war it was at leaſt to be expected that they ſhould point out ſome fixed and ſettled principle by which it was intended to be guided, and ſome object at which it aimed. On the contrary, we were ſometimes ſaid to be fighting for one purpoſe, and ſometimes for another, and were ſtill left at all times equally in the dark. The decree of November, and the opening of the Scheld, were in 1793 the oſtenſible cauſes of the war. In 1794 it was the reſtoration of the conſtitutional monarchy. In 1795, indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future. In 1796, the re-eſtabliſhment of ſocial order, and the relations of peace and amity: Laſtly, the *ſine qua non* of lord Malmeſbury.

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It was now ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe, whether the preſent miniſters, who had ſo raſhly precipitated the country into the war, and had manifeſted ſuch incapacity in the conduct of it, were likely to be more ſucceſsful in obtaining that deſirable bleſſing---tranquillity? He was perfectly of opinion with his conſtituents, that they were not: it required men of greater minds, and more upright intentions, to bring about this object."---Mr. Curwen avowed his belief "that the preſent miniſters neither would, nor perhaps could, make peace for this country; and, as the ſituation of the country rendered the ſpeedy reſtoration of that bleſſing abſolutely neceſſary, he felt it his duty to ſupport the motion."---The miniſters, Pitt, Dundas, and Windham, who deemed it perhaps decorous not to take part in this debate, were defended by alderman Luſhington, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Dent, Mr. Pierrepoint, Mr. Burdon, &c.---and the motion was negatived by a vaſt majority of 242 to 59 voices.

On the 26th of May Mr. Grey made his final motion relative to a reform in parliament, which he had ſo frequently, at different times, and in various modes, brought under public and parliamentary diſcuſſion. This able and zealous advocate of reform in general had not, however, yet attempted that great deſideratum,---a ſpecific plan of reform at once rational, feaſible, and beneficial. Such was the object of the propoſition now ſubmitted to the candor and judgment of the houſe. Mr. Grey ſolemnly affirmed "that he fought not to alter any part of the conſtitution, but merely to obtain for the people a full, fair, and free repreſentation in parliament, to which they were incontrovertibly entitled. He propoſed that the county repreſentation ſhould continue upon the ſame footing, only that the number of county members ſhould be increaſed from 92 to 113; the addition to be made to the larger counties in proportion to their population. In order to put an end to compromiſes, counties ſhould be divided into diſtricts, each of which ſhould return

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one repreſentative: the right of elective franchiſe to be extended to copyholders and leaſeholders: The remaining 400 members to be returned by one deſcription of perſons, viz. HOUSEHOLDERS: The poll to be taken throughout the kingdom at one time; and the ſame perſon not to be permitted to vote for more than one member: The duration of parliament to be limited to three years. Upon this plan," Mr. Grey ſaid, "the members would hold their ſeats, not indeed on the baſis of univerſal ſuffrage, but of univerſal repreſentation. The qualification would be ſo fixed, that no man, however mean, might not hope, by honeſt induſtry and fair exertions, to raiſe himſelf to this diſtinction." The motion of Mr. Grey was ſeconded in an elaborate and eloquent ſpeech by Mr. Erſkine, who reverted to thoſe better days when the liberties of the country were eſtabliſhed by the exerciſe of the conſtitutional powers of that houſe. "We could recollect with pride and triumph the glorious exertions of our forefathers within thoſe walls, when tyranny, century after century, was combated and defeated, and the freedom of Engliſhmen was aſſerted and confirmed. The only cure for the evils of government was to make the houſe of commons what it had been in the days of our anceſtors, when it preſerved the liberties of the people, and was crowned with their love and veneration."

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion upon preciſely the ſame grounds on which his own propoſitions on the ſame ſubject had been formerly conteſted. "Was it not better," he aſked, "to endure ſome inconvenience, rather than hazard the annihilation of a ſyſtem under which this country had flouriſhed in proſperity, had been ſupported in adverſity, and acquired energy and vigor to recover from the diſtreſſes which it had endured? It had never," he ſaid, "been contended, that the inequality of the repreſentation had been attended with any practical diſadvantage; that the intereſt of Yorkſhire had been neglected becauſe it ſent only two members to parliament; or that Birmingham or

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Manchester experienced any ill consequences from having no representatives. The proposition now stated was new, extensive,—overturning all the antient system without substituting any real benefit. On what experience, on what practice, was it to be introduced? Were we to renounce the benefits of a tried system for a theory which had no example in its favor? After all, this plan would be far from satisfying the speculative and democratic partizans of reform without doors. Men who could treat parliament as usurpation, and monarchy as an invasion, of the rights of man, would reject with scorn any propositions which did not include a recognition of their rights; and which they would regard as vitiated, if conveyed in any other shape." Mr. Pitt, in conclusion, avowed his total disapprobation of the plan proposed, and gave his decided negative to the motion.

Mr. Fox, at the close of the debate, rose in defence of the motion; and recalled to Mr. Pitt's recollection the words used by him on bringing forward his own original motion of reform in 1782.—" 'Without a reform in parliament the nation cannot be safe. This war may be ended, but what will protect us against another? As certainly as the spirit which engendered the present actuates the secret councils of the crown, we shall, under the influence of a defective representation, be involved in new wars and similar calamities.' This was the right honorable gentleman's prophesy, and it has been fully accomplished. Another war did take place, equal in disaster, and at least equal in disgrace! It seems as if his whole life from that period had been destined for the illustration of the warning. It was remarkable," Mr. Fox observed, " that every prediction hazarded by Mr. Pitt, during the course of the present war, had failed; every hope, every expectation, every promise, had proved fallacious; yet parliament continued to confide in him: and the only one of his predictions which was entitled to regard, the only one which had been verified in the

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the reſult, was that which had been unfortunately ſlighted and neglected.—Mr. Fox appealed to the houſe, whether they were the faithful organs of the public will? Can we," ſaid he, "review the adminiſtration of the right honorable gentleman without being convinced that the preſent repreſentation is a ſhadow and a mockery? Miniſters had affirmed the popularity of the preſent war; the ſame had been ſaid of the war with America; nor would he deny that, through the artful machinations of miniſters, a clamor had been raiſed, which they called the voice of the nation: but whatever had been the caſe in the outſet of both, the progreſs in the public opinion had been the ſame in each. It had indiſputably changed, though the voice of the people had not been heard in the choice of repreſentatives. Had the repreſentative ſyſtem been perfect, or its practice pure, the new parliament would decidedly have voted againſt the continuance of the war.—With reſpect to the ſpecific propoſition before the houſe, Mr. Fox thought the beſt and moſt adviſable plan of reform was to extend the right of election to houſeholders: it was the moſt perfect recurrence to the firſt-known and recorded principles in our conſtitution, according to the celebrated Glanville, in all caſes where no particular right intervened; and he wiſhed it to be diſcuſſed in a committee, in hopes that the united wiſdom of the houſe might improve the preſent outline into a ſyſtem generally beneficial and acceptable.—In concluſion, Mr. Fox expreſſed his aſſurance that the nation, by adopting wiſe and temperate meaſures of reform, that the monarchy and the people, might yet be ſaved. Let thoſe miniſters who have plunged us into our preſent ſtate retire from the poſt to which they are unequal. A new adminiſtration, compoſed of men who poſſeſſed the talents of conciliation muſt be formed; but of this new adminiſtration Mr. Fox ſolemnly proteſted that he had no wiſh to make a part. Ambition was dead within him. He ſought only the ſalvation of the country, and his deſire, as to himſelf,

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was henceforth RETIREMENT."—The queſtion being put, after long debate, the houſe divided; for the motion 63, againſt it 258 voices.

On the 30th of May the duke of Bedford roſe, in purſuance of notice given, to move an addreſs to the throne, humbly beſeeching his majeſty to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils for ever. This addreſs was ſupported by the noble mover in a very able and comprehenſive ſpeech. Recapitulating the errors of the preſent adminiſtration in all its relations, foreign and domeſtic, and ſtating the evils actually produced, and the ſtill greater to be apprehended from them, his grace ſolemnly appealed to the houſe, "whether they would ſuffer the country to be devoted to utter deſtruction? Will you," he exclaimed, "leave its affairs to men who have already involved you in complicated calamities? I intreat your lordſhips to reflect upon our ſituation as a nation, and that you would deviſe ſome means of avoiding the complete ruin with which we are threatened."—The motion was powerfully ſeconded by the duke of Grafton. This nobleman, whoſe age, character, and long experience in affairs, commanded the reſpect and attention of the houſe, obſerved "that there were not wanting thoſe who attributed to chance, the chance of war, all the misfortunes which had befallen us; but he aſcribed them to the uniform folly and raſhneſs of miniſters, as their real, ſole, and obvious cauſe. "This chain of diſaſters," ſaid his grace, "could no more have fallen out by chance than the globe we walk on could have been produced by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms. For himſelf, he proteſted before God and his country, that ſo far from abetting the pernicious counſels which were bringing on the downfall of the empire, he had endeavoured to the utmoſt, by every conſtitutional means, to avert them. If the preſent motion were received with the ſame cold indifference which had been hitherto ſhewn, and if the ſame confidence was continued to the ſame miniſters, he ſhould not

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not think it neceſſary to trouble the houſe with his remarks again. But before he retired, to fortify his own mind againſt the calamities he ſaw approaching, he conceived it to be a duty incumbent upon him to lay before his ſovereign, in perſon, the reaſons of his conduct, flattering himſelf that he ſhould experience the ſame gracious and attentive hearing which his majeſty had ever vouchſafed to one who had always ſpoken the unbiaſſed and genuine dictates of his heart."

The earls of Guildford and Suffolk, the marquis of Lanſdown, and the earl of Moira, all ſucceſſively ſpoke with vigor and ability in favor of the motion, and made every effort to impreſs the houſe with the conviction, that to give any further countenance to the preſent ſyſtem, a ſyſtem fraught with miſchief and ruin, would be involving themſelves in the guilt of it. The duke of Athol, lord Romney, lord Spencer, &c. defended the meaſures of adminiſtration: and lord Grenville, finding all other arguments fail, touched again the maſter-chord, which never failed, even in the moſt unſkilful hands, to awaken the paſſions of the houſe. He claimed for the preſent miniſters, whatever might be their faults or failings, the tranſcendent merit of having preſerved the country from that anarchy to which he affirmed the language and general conduct of the oppoſition tended. A reform of parliament was their grand ſpecific for all grievances; but to this meaſure he had invariably objected, as conceiving it to amount to a complete alteration of the conſtitution. "The plan lately propoſed," his lordſhip ſaid, "went to pluck up by the roots every right planted by the conſtitution; and if the flood-gates were once opened to innovation, the torrent of anarchy would ſpread ſo forcibly and ſo wide, that it would not be in the power of their lordſhips, by oppoſing their feeble hands as a barrier to deſtruction, to prevent the conſtitution from being overwhelmed in ruin. And he declared his belief, that the *object* of the motion was to promote,

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mote, not a change of miniſters, but a revolution in the country."—The duke of Leeds, who uſually voted with adminiſtration, after expreſſing his diſapprobation of a parliamentary reform, remarked "that the noble ſecretary had made the conſtitution depend as it were upon the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office, which was rather too much to concede. Though he would not aſſert that theſe miniſters were intentionally wicked, he could not help conſidering them as peculiarly unfortunate."—After a ſpeech from the lord-chancellor, enforcing the arguments of lord Grenville, the houſe divided; for the motion 12, againſt it 65.

The revolution of France was an event ſo great, and the immediate conſequences of it proved ſo diſaſtrous, that it could ſcarcely be for a moment baniſhed from the minds of any in diſcuſſing the ſubject of political and national reform. Two grand and directly oppoſite concluſions were deducible, and, by different perſons, were actually deduced from it. *Firſt*, The adverſaries and enemies of reform inferred the danger of all innovations, and deprecated even the diſcuſſion of any topics of this nature, from the extenſive and inaſcertainable conſequences attending the moſt temperate and well-intentioned deſigns of alteration and improvement. This was at all times a prevailing ſentiment with thoſe who had little to hope and much to fear—with perſons of high rank, great property, and more eſpecially with thoſe who derived advantage and emolument from the very abuſes which were the prominent objects of reform. But the late events in France had ſo heightened and extended this dread of innovation as ſtrongly to affect the majority of the middle claſſes, and even for a time of the vulgar, who are naturally the friends of innovation, as having more to hope than to fear from the conſequences of a change. *Secondly*, The advocates of political reformation reaſoned, *toto cælo*, differently; and inferred the utility and neceſſity of it from the calamities and diſaſters of the French revolution itſelf.

For

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For had timely and ſeaſonable reforms been made by the French government, while it yet poſſeſſed the power of reforming, no revolution would have happened. But, on the contrary, the government there reſiſted to the utmoſt every effort to correct even the groſſeſt abuſes; and nothing was effected but in oppoſition, and as it were, defiance, of the government, which, by this means, gradually loſt its influence and its energy. The paſſions of the people were rouzed by continual contention; and the torrent of innovation, breaking down all the dams and mounds of law and cuſtom, carried every thing before it, and the government and people were involved in one common ruin. But how different would have been the caſe had the government of England taken the buſineſs of reform into its own hands! The miſchiefs in France were occaſioned by the jealouſy and diſtruſt, or rather the open animoſity and hoſtility, ſubſiſting between the conſtituted authorities—the king and the National Aſſembly. But in Great Britain, had the king and parliament united in carrying into effect a general reform upon temperate and liberal principles, ſuch as were calculated for practical advantage, who could have entertained the remoteſt idea of a ſuperior control? Even thoſe who laid moſt ſtreſs upon abſtract ſpeculations of right, but who certainly never expected them to be acted upon in their full extent, would have acquieſced with cheerful and grateful hearts: and the clamors of the few, if any ſuch there were, who really wiſhed to involve the nation in confuſion, would have been loſt in the acclamations of the many who muſt have abhorred the idea. "Conſider ſeriouſly," ſays Mr. Burke in his admired ſpeech on œconomical reform, "the wiſdom of timely reformation. Early reforms are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations are impoſed upon a conquered enemy. Under a ſtate of inflammation, the people ſee the abuſe, and they will ſee nothing elſe."

If,

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If, in addition to these necessary and sober domestic reforms, the executive government had acted with caution and moderation abroad, had anxiously avoided making itself a party in the continental quarrels; if, on the contrary, England had endeavoured, with generous frankness and good faith, by amicable interposition, to accommodate those quarrels, and to mediate between the contending powers; if, in a word, she had resolutely adopted and persisted in a system of mildness, œconomy, and good-will to all, and had embraced the favorable opportunities which peace would no doubt have afforded of increasing the amount, and adding to the energy of the too inadequate fund set apart for the liquidation of the public debt; it is impossible to conjecture to what heights of felicity and glory the nation might in a few years have attained. The difficulties of the American war, after a tranquil interval of ten years, had been in a great degree surmounted; and Mr. Pitt was able, on a memorable occasion, a few months preceding the war with France, to draw an exquisite and glowing picture of public prosperity, which time was about to realize, when he himself, with unhallowed hand, tore the canvas, and, exulting in his political phrenzy, committed it to the rage and fury of the winds.

As to the particular mode in which national reform, so desirable in itself, and so earnestly desired by many, ought to be conducted—it is sufficient to say, that, like every other important undertaking, it must, in order to be ultimately successful in its operation, be conducted in the spirit of wisdom. "The public," says a man of talents, who has been unjustly stigmatized as a favorer of violent reform, Mr. Horne Tooke, "ought never to receive a benefit at the expense of an individual." Reforms ought, therefore, to be in a great measure prospective, and, as far as the influence of them is felt at all, it should be felt as beneficial. Reforms merely speculative are to be avoided; as all theories are delusive, if not dangerous, which do not tend to practical

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practical advantage. Above all, it will be the conſtant care of a wiſe government to enlighten the people on the ſubject of their duties and their rights—infuſing into their minds, by gentle and rational means, juſt ideas of government—encouraging and patronizing thoſe writers whoſe works are calculated to enlarge the ſphere of the human underſtanding, and to enforce a willing obedience, upon juſt and equitable principles; ſo that government may neither exact too much, nor the people yield too little. Who can eſtimate the value of ſuch writings as thoſe of Locke, Hoadley, and Addiſon, in this view, both to the government and to the community of a country?—"To ſay that a blind cuſtom of obedience," to quote the language of one of the greateſt of mankind, lord Bacon, "ſhould be a ſurer obligation than duty taught and underſtood, it is to aſſirm that a blind man may tread ſurer by a guide than a ſeeing man can with ſight." *

Towards the end of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced into the houſe of commons, by Mr. Dundas, for raiſing and embodying a militia in Scotland; which was ſoon after paſſed into a law, and found by experience exceedingly obnoxious to the people of Scotland; the method of ballot and the principle of compulſion being equally diſliked on the north as on the ſouth ſide of the Tweed. But obedience was finally enforced, as formerly in England, by the irreſiſtible argument of the muſquet and bayonet.

On the 20th of July, 1797, the parliamentary ſeſſion was concluded in the uſual manner by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty intimated to the two houſes "that he was again engaged in a negotiation for peace, which nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to bring to a ſucceſsful termination, on ſuch conditions as were conſiſtent with the ſecurity, honor, and eſſential intereſts of his dominions."

At

* "Advancement of Learning," Book I.

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At this period an extreme diſſatisfaction prevailed throughout the nation from the general ſenſe entertained of the incapacity of the preſent miniſters, either as miniſters of peace or war; and a great number of the moſt reſpectable and independent members of the houſe, who had uſually voted with Mr. Pitt, held conſultations with each other reſpecting the formation of a new adminiſtration, of which it was intended that the earl of Moira ſhould be the head; for the majority of the aſſociated members were, in a greater or leſs degree, *alarmiſts*, and conceived that Mr. Fox, for whom they profeſſed a high perſonal admiration and regard, had pledged himſelf farther than they could, in conſiſtency with their own views and principles, follow him, in the cauſe of political and parliamentary reform. It was underſtood that the prince of Wales favored and patronized the deſigns now in agitation—the earl of Moira being known to poſſeſs the entire confidence of that great perſonage.

Previous to the ſummer receſs, ſome perſons of the higheſt reſpectability and eminence ſeverally demanded audiences of the king, amongſt whom were the duke of Grafton and Mr. Fox. The former of theſe had once enjoyed a large ſhare of the king's favor, and ſtill held a diſtinguiſhed place in his eſteem. The object of this nobleman, as of others high in rank and reputation, who conceived themſelves under an indiſpenſable obligation of duty to ſtate their ſentiments at this criſis to his majeſty in perſon, was, according to public opinion and report, reſpectfully, though unreſervedly, to repreſent to their ſovereign the pernicious nature and ruinous conſequences of the preſent ſyſtem, and the abſolute neceſſity of ſome alteration in it, in order to avoid the impending danger. The magnanimous mind of Mr. Fox was impelled by an additional motive; and conceiving himſelf and his counſels to be unacceptable to the monarch, he thought it becoming his character, conformably to his recent intimation in parliament, to impart

to

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to his majeſty his intention of retiring from public life, that he might not be conſidered as an impediment to the projected change. It was imagined by many, that, at this criſis, the miniſters themſelves wavered in their reſolution, and would have acceded, with no violent oppoſition on their part, to the new ſyſtem. But as, on the one hand, the king ſhewed a moſt inflexible determination to ſupport the preſent men and the preſent meaſures,—ſo, on the other, the parliamentary adherents of Mr. Fox, men conſpicuous for talents and reputation, and without whoſe concurrence the new adminiſtration could not be formed, reſolved unanimouſly to take no active part in any arrangement of which Mr. Fox was not the political head; ſo that this well-intentioned effort proved altogether unavailing.*

The military tranſactions of this year were peculiarly intereſting. The unfortunate reſult of the invaſion of Germany by the generals Jourdain and Moreau during the former campaign, and the extraordinary ſucceſs which had attended the exertions of general Buonaparte in Italy, led the French government to bend almoſt their whole attention to this quarter, and the war upon the Rhine appeared to be in a manner ſuſpended.—Although nothing but a ſeries of misfortunes had been experienced by the Imperial generals in their repeated attempts to defend the Italian poſ-

ſeſſions

* From this period the duke of Grafton returned to the enjoyment of that retired and rural life in which he had found ſo much more ſatisfaction than in the higheſt attainments of ambition. Nothing leſs indeed than the urgent call of public duty, as was perfectly well known to his friends, could have induced this highly-reſpectable nobleman to have quitted thoſe peaceful and happy ſhades,

"Where ſmiling Euſton boaſts her good Fitzroy;
Lord of pure alms, and gifts that wide extend,—
The farmer's patron, and the poor man's friend"

Vide the ſingularly beautiful and extraordinary production of natural taſte and genius recently publiſhed under the appropriate title of The FARMER'S BOY.

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ſeſſions of the emperor their ſovereign, the power of the houſe of Auſtria diſplayed itſelf very conſpicuouſly in the ſpeedy reparation of their loſſes; and the armies exterminated, ſeemed, like the heads of the Hydra, to be inſtantly ſupplied by others. After the battle of Arcole, new levies were made throughout the hereditary ſtates, and vaſt reinforcements ſent with ſuch expedition to general Alvinzi, that he was able to take the field once more in great force early in the month of January (1797). Paſſing the Brenta, he advanced to the Adige; and, carrying by aſſault the important poſt of Corona, compelled the French to fall back to Rivoli. General Buonaparte, who had been for ſome time paſt at Bologna, was no ſooner apprized of this new and unexpected irruption, than he reſumed in perſon the command of his army, now ſtrengthened by reinforcements, and immediately changed general Joubert's plan of defence into an attack.

On the ſucceeding day (January 14), a general engagement took place, in which prodigious diſplays of ſkill and valor were exhibited by the combatants on each ſide. Towards the cloſe of the day, the Auſtrians, who were much ſuperior in number, appeared to have decidedly the advantage,—the main body of the French being driven into their entrenchments, and the two wings completely diſordered. General Buonaparte, perceiving the perilous nature of his ſituation, determined upon one final effort, and ordered a numerous column from the right wing of the Auſtrians, which had taken a commanding poſition upon the heights behind Rivoli, in the rear of the French, from the Adige to the Lake of Guarda, to be attacked by a body of choſen troops with fixed bayonets. This ſervice was moſt effectually performed: the Auſtrians, who had ſuppoſed the battle gained, fled panic-ſtruck towards the lake, and great part of the column ſurrendered almoſt without reſiſtance. This, however, was, on the part of the French, rather an eſcape than a victory. Two hours before day-break, on the

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the 15th of January, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury. After a gallant reſiſtance, the main body of the Auſtrian army was diſlodged from their poſition: and the left wing, poſted on the Heights of St. Marco, being ſurrounded, were either killed or taken priſoners.---This was not the only diſaſter ſuſtained by the Auſtrians. General Provera, at the head of a column of ten thouſand men, compoſed chiefly of volunteers, many of them of the beſt families of Vienna, who had received from the empreſs a ſort of conſecrated ſtandard, worked with her own hands, marched, with all the chivalrous feelings of the antient cruſades, to the relief of Mantua, expecting a powerful co-operation from general Wurmſer, who had previous notice of their intention. An attack was accordingly made by that brave veteran, with the whole force of his garriſon, on the poſt of La Favorita, while Provera attempted that of St. George; but in both inſtances without ſucceſs: and after the defeat of Alvinzi at Rivoli, general Buonaparte was enabled to detach large bodies of troops, which, ſurrounding Provera, and ſecuring the paſſes on all ſides, at length, after a brave reſiſtance, compelled the Auſtrian general to ſurrender, with his remaining forces, at diſcretion: So that, ſince the commencement of the new year, the French boaſted to have taken no leſs than 25,000 priſoners and 60 pieces of cannon; and the fourth Auſtrian army ſent to Italy, in the ſpace of a few months, was entirely broken.---The garriſon of Mantua having now loſt every hope of ſuccour, and reduced to extremity by diſeaſe and famine, at length capitulated on honorable terms; and that almoſt impregnable fortreſs, upon which little impreſſion had been made by the arms of the beſiegers, ſubmitted to the republican, though ſhe had for centuries reſiſted the monarchical, power of France. Subſequent to the fatal battle of Rivoli, the ſhattered remains of the Auſtrians had repaſſed, with precipitation, the rivers Adige and Brenta; and part of the left diviſion retreated through Roveredo

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Roveredo to Trent, of which the French, under general Joubert, took peaceable poſſeſſion.

The late meaſures of the court of Rome ſeemed to indicate that the aged pontiff was bent upon his own deſtruction. Inſtead of obſerving an exact neutrality between the belligerent powers, or offering, in the ſpirit of Chriſtian catholiciſm, to interpoſe his paternal and healing mediation, he ſeemed actuated by a ſettled rage againſt the French republic, equally furious and impotent. Count Manfredini, firſt miniſter of the grand-duke of Tuſcany, had apprized cardinal Buſca, ſecretary to his holineſs, that general Buonaparte was far from wiſhing to co-operate in the deſtruction of the papal ſee; that he acknowledged ſome of the articles of the armiſtice to be ſuch as his holineſs might juſtly regard as inadmiſſible; and that he was diſpoſed to render them more favorable: but the pope, moſt abſurdly confident in his own reſources, and proud of the Imperial alliance, treated theſe indirect overtures with neglect or contempt, and made great warlike preparations throughout his dominions, to ſecond the efforts of general Alvinzi previous to the battle of Arcole—the event of which, with the ſucceeding defeat at Rivoli, left the Roman pontiff at the mercy of his enemies.

On the 1ſt of February, 1797, general Buonaparte publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the violation of the armiſtice by the pope, charging his holineſs with refuſing to liſten to the pacific overtures of the republic; with having entered into hoſtile negotiations with the court of Vienna; with having put his troops in motion, and entruſting the command of them to Auſtrian officers;—and, depending probably upon the known puſillanimity of the inhabitants of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, the manifeſto concluded with dreadful denunciations of vengeance againſt thoſe who offered any reſiſtance to the march of the republicans.

The papal army lay ſtrongly entrenched on the banks of the Senio, where they were attacked by the diviſion of general

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neral Victor on the ſecond of the ſame month. The encounter, though ſhort, was ſharp. During the engagement ſeveral prieſts, with crucifixes in their hands, animated, by their exhortations, the Roman troops: but they were unable to ſtand the ſhock of the bayonet, and were driven from their entrenchments with the loſs of fifteen hundred men and fourteen pieces of cannon—that of the French amounting to no more than forty killed and wounded. General Buonaparte, now taking the command in perſon, advanced to Faenza, the gates of which were ſhut againſt him. The place was immediately carried by aſſault; but no pillage or plunder was allowed. This had an happy effect. In a few days the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the whole marche of Ancona, ſubmitted to the French. In the town of Ancona was found a large magazine of arms and ammunition, including a fine train of artillery, which had juſt been ſent to the pope from the emperor. A diviſion of the republican army alſo proceeded to Loretto, whence the greater part of the treaſure had been previouſly removed. The remains of that coſtly but abſurd and uſeleſs collection of wealth, the contributions of ſuperſtition and folly, were however, without any remorſe of conſcience, ſecured; the myſteries of the ſacred chapel, and the miraculous houſe, or *ſancta caſa*, with all the religious trumpery which they contained, were expoſed to vulgar gaze; and the celebrated Madona, or image of the Virgin, ſo long the object of awe and adoration, was packed up in a caſe, with the relics of her wardrobe and furniture, conſiſting of rags of coarſe woollen cloth, earthen ſpoons, &c. and ſent as trophies to the Directory.

General Colli, who, with the papal army, had been poſted near Ancona, retreated with precipitation at the approach of the French; and, no-where attempting to make a ſtand, the republicans proceeded, without any obſtacle, through Macera to Tolentino, within a few days' march of Rome;

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Rome; when general Buonaparte received a letter written by the pope in his own hand, and conceived in the following terms:

" Dear Son, " Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.

" Deſirous of terminating, in an amicable manner, our actual differences with the French republic, by the withdrawing the troops which you command, we ſend and depute towards you, as our plenipotentiaries, two eccleſiaſtics, —the cardinal Mattei, who is perfectly known to you, and his lordſhip of Galeppi; together with two ſeculars, the duke Don Lewis Braſchi, our nephew, and the marquis Camilli Maſſini; who are clothed with our full powers to concert with you, to promiſe and ſubſcribe ſuch conditions as we hope ſhall be juſt and reaſonable; obliging ourſelves, on our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in ſpecial form, in order that they may at all times be valid and inviolable. Secure in the ſentiments of good will which you have manifeſted towards us, we have abſtained from all removal from Rome, by which you will be perſuaded of our great confidence in you. We conclude with aſſuring you of our higheſt eſteem, and in giving you our paternal apoſtolic benediction.—Given at St. Peter's of Rome, February 12, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate.

PIUS."

In conſequence of this letter a treaty of peace was immediately ſigned at Tolentino, on terms more tolerable than could well be expected, conſidering the relative ſituation of both parties. The pope conſented to withdraw every *adheſion*, &c. given by him to the powers coaleſced againſt France; to ſuffer no ſhips of war or privateers belonging to the enemy to enter his ports; to renounce all right to Avignon and the Venaiſſin, and alſo to the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; and the French to poſſeſs all the immunities of the moſt favored nation. His holineſs alſo agreed to pay thirty millions of livres, as the price of peace within two months; and all the manuſcripts, pictures,

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tures, ſtatues, &c. ſtipulated for at the period of the armiſtice, to be immediately delivered: likewiſe to ſet at liberty all who were confined in Rome on account of their political opinions; and the city and citadel of Ancona to remain in poſſeſſion of the French till a general peace.

On ſigning the articles, general Buonaparte wrote a polite anſwer to the pope's letter, in which he aſſured his holineſs of the eſteem and perfect veneration he had for his perſon; hoping that the French republic would approve itſelf one of the trueſt friends of Rome."

In the progreſs of his march, general Buonaparte, finding himſelf near the celebrated mountain which compriſes the whole territory of the ancient republic of St. Marino, was ſeized with the noble enthuſiaſm of diſplaying in the moſt flattering and conſpicuous manner the reſpect which was due to this genuine remnant of the ſons of freedom. The ambaſſador Monge, deputed by the French general, told the chiefs of this obſcure but happy community, that he came in the name of the French people to aſſure the ancient republic of St. Marino of their inviolable friendſhip. He entered into a conciſe hiſtory of the principal events of the revolution, and ſignified the glorious ſucceſs with which their efforts had been crowned. After complimenting them for the aſylum afforded to liberty within their walls, during the centuries when it ſeemed baniſhed from the reſt of Europe, the ambaſſador intimated, that if it was the wiſh of the government of St. Marino to enlarge the limits of their territory, the French republic would gladly embrace the occaſion to give them the moſt ſolid proofs of their good will. The reply of this ſmall but virtuous and unambitious ſtate was ſuch as to afford a leſſon both of political and moral wiſdom to all the nations of Chriſtendom.—"We place," ſaid they, "citizen ambaſſador, in the number of the moſt glorious epochas that have diſtinguiſhed the annals of our freedom, the day of your miſſion to our republic. Your

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republic not only conquers its enemies by the force of its arms, but fills its friends with amazement at the generosity of its proceedings. The love of our liberty makes us feel the worth of the magnanimous exertions of a great people aspiring to recover their own. Those exertions have surpassed all expectation. Your nation, single against the rest of Europe, has afforded the world an astonishing example of what that energy can achieve which is produced by the sentiment of LIBERTY.—Your army, marching in the steps of Hannibal, and surpassing by its deeds whatever is most wonderful in antiquity, led on by a hero who unites to every virtue the powers of the most distinguished genius, has cast a glance on a corner of the globe where a remnant of the sons of Liberty fled for refuge, and where is found rather the plainness of Spartan manners than the elegance of Athens. You know, citizen ambassador, that the simplicity of our customs, the deep sentiment we cherish of liberty, are the only inheritance which has been transmitted to us by our fathers: this we have been able to preserve untouched amidst the political convulsions which have taken place in the succession of many revolving ages, and which neither ambition nor hatred have been able to destroy. Return then to the hero who has sent you: Carry back to him the free homage not only of that admiration which we share with the whole world, but also of our gratitude: Tell him that the republic of St. Marino, satisfied with its mediocrity, fears to accept of his generous offer of enlarging its territory, which might, in the end, prove injurious to its liberty."

Here then is a striking and instructive instance of a community enjoying in grateful contentment their beloved and enviable freedom while a thousand years have rolled away, and who, satisfied with the peaceful possession of their native mountain, refuse to hearken to the most tempting offers of an enlargement of their dominion. What a contrast to the wicked and absurd policy of those *Christian countries* which,

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which, great in riches, in extent of territory and population, place their chief glory in ſubjecting to their tyrannical yoke the fartheſt regions of the globe, whoſe weak and unoffending inhabitants could never have afforded the ſlighteſt pretext for inflicting upon them theſe atrocious injuries, and who have no knowledge of their conquerors, but in the character and capacity of oppreſſors, plunderers, and aſſaſſins.

Scarcely had the peace with the pope been ſigned and ratified, when the attention of the French general was recalled to the northern parts of Italy, where the Auſtrians had again aſſembled in great force. General Alvinzi was now diſmiſſed from his command, and the archduke Charles, the idol of the German ſoldiery, placed at the head of the Imperial armies with full powers; and the court of Vienna, after its repeated diſappointments, ſtill flattered itſelf with the hopes that the deliverer of the empire, the hero of Kehl, and the conqueror of Jourdain, would be able to diſſolve the charm by which victory ſeemed bound to the car of Buonaparte. The archduke carried with him very powerful reinforcements from the banks of the Rhine; and the French government likewiſe detached from their forces in that quarter a very large diviſion under general Bernadotte; ſo that the flower both of the Auſtrian and French armies were now aſſembled at the foot of the Noric Alps, to decide a quarrel which had begun near the ſhores of the German Ocean.

Since the defeat of the gallant but unfortunate Alvinzi at Rivoli, the French had occupied the right ſide of the Piava, from its ſource in the Alps to its *embouchure* in the Adriatic. The Auſtrians, marching from all parts, gradually formed on the oppoſite ſhore, and ſome ſkirmiſhes had already taken place between the advanced poſts, when Buonaparte returned from the unlaurelled triumphs of the papal war to the grand ſcene of military operation. The diviſions under Maſſena and Serrurier having paſſed the Piava,

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the archduke fell back on Belluno, and continued retreating till he had repaſſed the Tagliamento, the banks of which deep and rapid ſtream the Auſtrians had ſo fortified, from the mountains to the Adriatic, as to render the farther progreſs of the French army extremely hazardous. Here, therefore, general Buonaparte thought it expedient to pauſe; and, contrary to his apparent cuſtom, cautiouſly to deliberate before he ventured to paſs this bulwark of the Auſtrian dominions. On the 16th of March (1797), all the neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, general Buonaparte, depending upon the co-operation of general Joubert on the ſide of the Tyrol, and taking his advantage of the lowneſs of the waters of the Tagliamento, in conſequence of the froſt which ſtill arreſted the torrents uſually flowing into that river from the Glaciers and the Upper Alps, determined to make what may be regarded as one of the boldeſt efforts of the Italian war. General Duphot firſt threw himſelf into the river at the head of a brigade of light infantry, ſupported by Bernadotte, Murat, and ſeveral other brave officers, and, having gained the oppoſite ſhore, the whole army gradually formed in ſpite of various fieree charges from the Auſtrian cavalry. The Auſtrians, aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted, made comparatively but a feeble reſiſtance. The village where the archduke had eſtabliſhed his headquarters being vigorouſly attacked, that prince was compelled haſtily to withdraw his troops under cover of the night, and continued his march till he reached the gorges of the mountains which bound the Venetian territory; leaving part of his artillery, and the towns of Palma Nuova, Udine, and the ſurrounding country, to the mercy of the conqueror. Buonaparte was not deceived in his expectations from Joubert. That officer was inſtructed to penetrate through the Tyrol into Carinthia, aſcending up the Adige, and following the courſe of that river to Brixen; then to proceed to the head of the Drave. He was oppoſed in his progreſs by general Laudohn, related to the great mareſchal Laudohn,

Laudohn, over whom Joubert obtained ſeveral advantages, compelling him to retreat to Inſpruck, while Joubert took poſſeſſion of Brixen, where the Auſtrians had large magazines. Another diviſion, under general Maſſena, alſo paſſing the Tagliamento near its ſource, continued its march among the mountains, with much difficulty from the nature of the country, and reſiſtance from the enemy, to the ſources of the Drave. The main body of the French army had by this time entered the Auſtrian Frioul—the garriſon of Gradiſca ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Trieſte, the chief town of Carniola, and the whole province of Iſtria bordering on the Adriatic, ſubmitted to the arms of the republic. The head-quarters of the archduke were now removed to Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, to which the generals Buonaparte and Maſſena preſſed forward in different directions,—the latter defeating in his progreſs a large diviſion of the Auſtrian army on the ſummit of the vaſt mountains which impend over the town of Tarwis. The battle was fought, according to the expreſſion of the French commander, above the clouds,—the ſnow covering the ground to a great depth.

General Joubert was at this time ſtill entangled in the Tyrolian Alps; but, deſiſting from his purſuit of Laudohn, he paſſed the ſummit of the range of mountains dividing the Tyrol from the duchy of Carinthia, and, continuing his march along the Drave, joined the generals Buonaparte and Maſſena at Clagenfurt; whence prince Charles, at the near approach of the French, had made his farther retreat. The republicans were now in poſſeſſion of all the Auſtrian territory on the Italian ſide of the Alps, of the Tyrol, of the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Iſtria, on the German ſide. Having, after an unexampled ſeries of triumphs, attained to this ſummit of proſperity, the French general exhibited an extraordinary inſtance of moderation and good policy, in making a direct overture for peace, in a letter addreſſed (March 31) to the archduke, and expreſſed in terms

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terms the moſt open, frank, and generous, highly deſerving of hiſtoric commemoration. " Brave ſoldiers," ſays the French commander, " make war, but deſire peace. Has not the war laſted ſix years? Have we not committed evils enough againſt ſuffering humanity?—Europe, who had taken up arms againſt the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains, and the ſixth campaign is announced under the moſt portentous auſpices.—Is there no hope then of accommodation? Is it eſſential to the intereſts or gratifying to the paſſions of a nation, far removed from the theatre of war, that we ſhould continue to murder each other? Do not imagine, gallant general, that I wiſh to inſinuate that you cannot ſave your country by force of arms; but, with reſpect to myſelf, if the overture which I now have the honor to make to you could be the means of ſparing the life of a ſingle man, I ſhould prize more highly the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than the melancholy glory which would reſult from the moſt brilliant military exploits." The archduke returned a polite though ſomewhat cool reply to this remarkable letter, importing, " that he neither conceived it his part to enter into any diſcuſſion of the principles upon which the war was carried on, nor was he furniſhed by the emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace."

Upon receiving this anſwer, general Buonaparte again put his troops in motion. On the 2d of April general Maſſena, with the advanced guard, attacked the archduke in the defiles between Freiſach and Neumark. After a bloody conflict the Auſtrians retired, leaving the field covered with dead. On the 4th, another partial engagement took place at Hunſmark, where the French maintained again their wonted ſuperiority. The French general now continued his march; and the Auſtrians retreating acroſs the Muhr, the enemy took poſſeſſion of the town of Judenburg in the principality of Styria, ſituated on that river.

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They were now 120 miles only from Vienna, which, by the rapid approach of the French, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Some thouſands of men were employed in raiſing new works for the defence of the city. A general enrolment took place, in which the noble and the peaſant were alike included, and precautions were taken to remove the public treaſure and archives of the archduchy into Hungary. The advanced poſts of the French army had already left Judenburg far in the rear; and the general informed the Directory in his diſpatches, "that he hoped, at the head of 20,000 grenadiers, to plant, in a few days, the ſtandard of the French republic in the capital of his Imperial majeſty."

But notwithſtanding the flattering proſpects before him, there were preſent to his mind conſiderations of great moment, which might well cauſe the French commander to pauſe in his career of victory. Intelligence was juſt received that the brave and hardy Tyroleſe peaſantry had, as on former occaſions, riſen in a maſs, and, under the active and ſpirited conduct of general Laudohn, had recovered Botſen and Brixen, whence the French troops, left for the defence of the Tyrol, had been driven with loſs. General Alvinzi was advancing by Fiuma and Trieſte into the Frioul, and a great army was gradually forming in the rear of the French. There was alſo good reaſon to believe that the republic of Venice, which had been ever ſecretly inimical to France, waited only a favourable opportunity of joining the Auſtrians avowedly and openly. The conquering army, though full of ſpirit and courage, was much diminiſhed in number, deſtitute of heavy artillery for ſieges, and utterly incompetent to retain poſſeſſion of the numerous provinces it had ſubdued. General Buonaparte, in the height of his ſucceſſes, began to feel that he was in the midſt of an enemy's country; and, as he advanced, the peaſantry of Carinthia and Carniola would, in all probability, follow the example of the Tyrolians—the different proclamations of liberty which

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which he had publiſhed from time to time having produced no ſenſible effect. His communication with France, and even with Italy, ſeparated as that country was now from him by a tremendous barrier of mountains, muſt be given up. He had no expectation of ſupport from any quarter; and the army he commanded was manifeſtly unequal to the mighty taſk of ſubverting the Auſtrian empire. Even ſhould he ſucceed in the doubtful enterpriſe of making himſelf maſter of Vienna, defended as it ſtill was by the lofty Styrian hills riſing from the banks of the Muhr, and by a brave and patriotic army commanded by a gallant prince, beloved and revered by his country, formidable notwithſtanding his loſſes, and whoſe defeats were not like thoſe of Arcole and Rivoli, he would even then ſee before him an almoſt interminable length of territory;—to the north, Bohemia; to the ſouth, Hungary; and, to the eaſt, the vaſt provinces of Auſtrian Poland. Armies would riſe up on every ſide; his forces would be haraſſed, diminiſhed, and diſpirited, by inceſſant action; and he might at laſt deem himſelf fortunate to eſcape, like his celebrated predeceſſor, mareſchal Belleiſle, after penetrating into the centre of the Auſtrian dominions, with the ſhattered remnant of his troops, back into his own country. In this ſtate of things it was no doubt with great ſatisfaction that general Buonaparte received, through the medium of general Bellegarde, a diſpatch from the court of Vienna, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of arms for ten days. To this propoſition he immediately acceded; and within that term preliminaries of peace were ſigned (April 18, 1797,) at Leoben in Styria.

The articles of this famous treaty contained a direct ceſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands to France; they allowed the free navigation of the Rhine, and recogniſed the independence of the newly-erected Italian republics. Thus was England alone, of all the powers engaged in the confe-

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deracy againſt France, left to carry on that ruinous, unjuſt, and hopeleſs conteſt.*

A manifeſto, publiſhed April 9, pending the negotiation, was addreſſed from Leoben, by general Buonaparte, to the doge and ſenate of Venice, complaining of the hoſtile diſpoſition which that government had uniformly ſhewn towards the French, and demanding inſtant ſatisfaction for the injuries they had ſuſtained. It was particularly alleged againſt them, that marſhal Beaulieu had been received in their territory with every mark of kindneſs after his ſucceſſive defeats in the campaign of 1796, and even ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Peſchiera on the Lake of Guarda. The repeated diſaſters of the Auſtrians at length, it is aſſerted, awakened the Venetian ſenate from its dream of the eventual ſucceſs of the coalition: it was perceived that general Buonaparte would not be made the dupe of their inſidious policy; and, dreading to be involved in the general deſtruction which threatened the remaining deſpotic governments of Italy, the ſenate ſought with eagerneſs ſome favorable opportunity of joining their forces with thoſe of the emperor for the extermination of the invaders The retreat of the archduke, and the march of the French towards the capital of the Auſtrian dominions, ſeemed to be the preciſe moment, when, without riſk or danger, they might aim a deciſive blow. General Buonaparte was nevertheleſs well informed of the perfidious intentions of the ſenate, but hoped that the forces which he had left in Lombardy, under general Augereau, would be ſufficient to over-awe the Venetian government. But when the news arrived of general Laudohn's

* "While the armies and navies of England have been given to Mr. Pitt," ſays a celebrated writer, "without reſtriction, and its treaſures poured out at his feet, his unproſperous *prudence* has produced all the effects of the blindeſt temerity, and finally left this country nothing but her own naked force to oppoſe the imminent danger of falling under the dominion of France."

BURKE'S 'Third Letter.'

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Laudohn's progreſs in the Tyrol, and alſo of general Alvinzi's march into Italy, by Carniola, in the rear of the French, the report was univerſally circulated that the French were on the point of laying down their arms, and that nothing was wanting to render the victory deciſive but a general movement and co-operation on the part of the loyal ſubjects of the Venetian government. The influence of the prieſts and nobles was ſufficient to blow into a flame the inſurrection which they had been ſecretly preparing. A cruſade againſt the French, as regicides and atheiſts, was publicly preached by the prieſts as a ſacred duty: the inſurgents, to the amount of 40,000, were ſoon equipped, and formed into regiments under the direction of regular officers employed in the ſervice of the ſtate; and the French were attacked at Vicenza, Padua, Verona, &c.—and at the laſt of theſe places, on the ſecond feſtival of Eaſter, the ringing of the bell was the ſignal to commence the new Sicilian veſpers by aſſaſſinating all the French in that city, without excepting even the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals, who, it is affirmed, were thrown into the Adige pierced with a thouſand ſtabs from ſtilettoes.—Such is the ſubſtance of the heavy accuſations brought by the French general againſt the Venetian ſtate.

Not knowing, or probably ſuſpecting, how ſpeedily a pacification was likely to take place between France and the emperor, the tenor of the anſwer returned by the doge was cold and evaſive. He pretended indeed, "that the members of government were overwhelmed with affliction at the receipt of general Buonaparte's letter;" and aſſerted, "that the ſenate had ever entertained the firmeſt reſolution of maintaining peace with the French republic;" alleging, "that though ſome diſorders inſeparable from popular inſurrections might have happened, the government had taken the neceſſary meaſures to appeaſe them." It muſt be remarked that general Laudohn, after expelling the French from the Tyrol, was now deſcending from the mountains,

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down the banks of the Adige, to join the numerous levies of insurgents in that quarter—general Augereau being utterly unable to oppose his progress. General Alvinzi also was rapidly advancing on the opposite side, and had actually passed the defiles leading to the Frioul: so that the Venetian government conceived general Buonaparte to be in a most hazardous situation, and regarded all Lombardy as once more in possession of the Austrians.

Immediately on signing the preliminaries of Leoben, general Buonaparte evacuated the Austrian territory; and early in May, from his head-quarters at Palma Nuova, he published a formal declaration of war against Venice, the government of which, amazed and confounded at the threat it contained, "to trample in the dust the lion of St. Mark," offered no resistance. On the 12th of May the French army entered the city of Venice, which, from the foundation of the republic, a period of 1,300 years, had never before submitted to a foreign yoke. The Senate and Council of Ten were forthwith abolished, and the three state inquisitors put under arrest. A provisional administration was appointed, and a municipality of fifty members chosen under the control of six commissioners nominated by the French general. Thus was an antient and execrable tyranny, falsely styling itself a republic, but which was in reality an oligarchy of the most odious kind, suddenly and completely annihilated, to the astonishment of the world; but, as soon appeared, from motives which allow little scope for praise to the haughty subverters of it. The capture of Venice put the French in possession of a prize highly important to the republic, which was the shipping in the port, with the naval and military stores contained in the magazines and arsenals of that great city. The Venetian islands in the Adriatic and Archipelago, with her Dalmatian and Istrian provinces, shared the fortunes of the parent state.

The fall of Genoa succeeded almost immediately that of Venice. From the days of Andrew Doria, a popular or democratic

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democratic party has always ſubſiſted in the Genoeſe republic. This party, from the extraordinary ſucceſſes, and no doubt from the ſecret encouragement of the French, had recently become very formidable to the government; and no ſooner was the intelligence received of the ſubverſion of the Venetian government, than a general inſurrection broke out, which, threatening the ſafety of the ducal palace, compelled the grand council to declare the patrician government diſſolved. A proviſional adminiſtration was then appointed, which, under the avowed influence of the French general, was ſoon after ſuperſeded by a government founded on the model of the republic of France; with whom the Genoeſe, now aſſuming the appellation of the Ligurian Republic, concluded a treaty of dependence, under the name of amity. Nearly at this period the Ciſpadane and Tranſpadane governments were united by general Buonaparte, under the name of the Ciſalpine Republic, which alſo adopted the French model as their pattern and exemplar.

The events which paſſed during this ſhort campaign on the Rhine merit no very diſtinct notice. Early in the ſpring the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, now commanded by general Hoche, paſſed the Rhine at Duſſeldorf, and attacked the Auſtrian entrenchments on the banks of the Lahn with conſiderable ſucceſs, purſuing the enemy to the gates of Frankfort; general Werneck, who commanded, being unable to withſtand the ſuperior force brought againſt him. In the mean time general Moreau paſſed the ſame river in the vicinity of Straſburg, not without ſome loſs from the Auſtrian artillery. But when the whole army had reached the German ſhore, a fierce and bloody conflict enſued, in which the Auſtrians were repulſed, and the fort of Kehl, which was ſtill lying in ruins, with the park of artillery, and ſeveral thouſand priſoners, fell into the hands of the republicans. The Auſtrians retreated precipitately towards the Danube, whither general Moreau was preparing

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ing to follow them, when the welcome news arrived of the ſigning of the preliminaries of peace by the archduke and general Buonaparte.

The naval tranſactions of the preſent year were, as well as the military events, very important and memorable. After all the pompous threats of invaſion, it excited however laughter rather than alarm, to be officially apprized that a ſmall French ſquadron, conſiſting of two frigates and two ſloops, had caſt anchor in the bay of Cardigan, where, on the 23d of February, they diſembarked about 1,500 men, with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field-pieces. Great exertions being made by the gentlemen of the vicinity, before night about 700 men, militia, fencibles, or yeomen cavalry, were collected in this rude and unfrequented ſpot, together with great numbers of the peaſantry armed with ſcythes and pitchforks. Of this party lord Cawdor aſſumed the command; and, on approaching the enemy, he received a letter, ſigned "Tate, Chef de Brigade," intimating that the circumſtances under which the body of French troops under his command were landed having rendered it unneceſſary to attempt any military operation, he propoſed a capitulation. This propoſal being accepted, about noon on the ſucceeding day they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. The two frigates alſo were captured on their return to Breſt, and the whole expedition proved as unfortunate in the execution as it was unaccountable in the deſign.

For many months paſt the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, had been blocked up in their harbours by the Britiſh ſquadrons. At length, however, the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Joſeph de Cordova, depending on its great ſuperiority of force, left the port of Carthagena, (February the 4th), and paſſed the rock of Gibraltar on the following day. Soon after they had cleared the Strait this fleet was deſcried by the Niger frigate, which immediately tranſmitted the intelligence to admiral ſir John Jervis, an officer

officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, who commanded on that ſtation. On the night of the 13th they approached ſo near, that their ſignal guns were diſtinctly heard. " In this ſituation" the admiral, to uſe his own words, " anxiouſly awaited the day;" when the Spaniſh fleet was found to conſiſt of no leſs than twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, whereas that of the Britiſh amounted to no more than fifteen. Far from thinking, in theſe circumſtances, of a retreat, the admiral " bore down with a preſs of ſail upon the enemy before they had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment," ſays the gallant commander, in his official account, " was not to be loſt; and, confident in the ſkill, valor, and diſcipline, of the officers and men I had the happineſs to command, and judging that the honor of his majeſty's arms, and the circumſtances of the war in theſe ſeas, required a conſiderable degree of enterpriſe, I felt myſelf juſtified in departing from the regular ſyſtem; and, paſſing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmoſt celerity, tacked, and thereby ſeparated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ſhips which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the Salvadore del Mundo, and San Joſef, of 112 guns each, the San Nicholas of 80, and the San Iſidro of 74, were captured, and the action ceaſed about five o'clock in the evening," when the Spaniards made in great confuſion for the harbour of Cadiz. It was computed that the loſs of the enemy in this engagement, ſo remarkable for the extraordinary degree of ſcience exhibited in the manœuvres of the Engliſh admiral, could not fall ſhort of 6,000 men, including the killed, wounded, and priſoners, while that of the Britiſh did not exceed 300, eighty of whom belonged to the crew of the Captain, a third rate, commanded by commodore Nelſon, who, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſparity of force, attacked with the utmoſt fury the flag ſhip of the

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Spaniſh admiral, La Santiſſima Trinidada of 136 guns. He was moſt gallantly ſupported by the captains Trowbridge and Frederick in the Culloden and the Blenheim, who loſt between them no leſs than 118 men; ſo that the whole preſſure of the action reſted on theſe three ſhips, chiefly from the noble eagerneſs which they diſplayed to compel the Spaniſh admiral to ſtrike his flag; but, though reduced to a wreck, Don Cordova appeared determined to ſink rather than ſubmit. The honors of the peerage were moſt deſervedly beſtowed upon the admiral in reward of his ſervices, and the title of Lord St. Vincent commemorated the place near which the battle was fought.

The laurels which this gallant commander acquired on this occaſion were unfortunately ſomething tarniſhed by an injudicious attempt made, on very fallacious intelligence, upon the town of Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe. On the 15th of July, commodore, now admiral, Nelſon, arrived before that port with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of war; from which a thouſand men, under captain Trowbridge, were landed, who took poſſeſſion of the town, not, however, without conſiderable reſiſtance; but found themſelves utterly unequal to the attack of the fort, the ſtrength of which, as well as of the military force of the iſland, now aſſembling, was far greater than they had been led to expect. Preparing therefore for a retreat, they had the misfortune to learn that the boats were ſtoven by the violence of the ſurge on the beach. In this ſituation they were ſummoned by the Spaniſh commander to ſurrender; but this the gallant Trowbridge diſdainfully rejected; ſaying, "he would not capitulate as long as he had a man left alive." On which the Spaniard informed the captain, by a polite meſſage, that, to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, he, and what remained of his men, were at liberty to return to their ſhips—not only providing boats for the purpoſe, but, as ſoon as the convention was ſigned, generouſly furniſhing them with ſupplies of biſcuit and wine. The loſs of lives in

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in this wild attempt was equal to that ſuſtained in the battle of Cape St. Vincent. Admiral Nelſon himſelf loſt his right arm by a cannon ball, two captains were killed, and a third wounded. And it is hard to ſay by what figure of ſpeech lord St. Vincent, in his official account of this diſaſter, could think himſelf authorized to affirm, "that, although the enterpriſe had not ſucceeded, his majeſty's arms had acquired a very great degree of luſtre."

Early in the preſent year an expedition ſailed from Port Royal in Martinico, under the command of ſir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Harvey, for the Spaniſh iſland of Trinidad. On approaching the gulf of Paria, a Spaniſh ſquadron of four ſhips of the line and one frigate was diſcovered lying at anchor. The preparations made for an attack were, however, anticipated by the Spaniards themſelves, who ſet fire to their ſhips in the middle of the night. One line-of-battle ſhip only eſcaped the conflagration, and fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and the next day (February the 18th), a capitulation was ſigned by the governor for the whole of that valuable colony, the garriſon being made priſoners of war.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs an attempt was made by the ſame commanders, in the month of April following, on the large and important iſland of Porto Rico. But here they found themſelves no leſs deceived in their calculations than lord St. Vincent at Teneriffe. After diſembarking their troops, and approaching the town, it was found far too ſtrong, in its natural and artificial defences, to be carried by a *coup de main*; and, not being in a condition to undertake a regular ſiege, they contented themſelves with a bombardment, which producing no effect, the troops re-embarked with the loſs of 200 men, without adding, in any reſpect, "to the luſtre of his majeſty's arms."

Great preparations had been making for many months in the Dutch ports, as was believed, with the intention of co-operating with the French in a ſecond invaſion of Ireland,

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at a period far more critical than the firſt. But the fleet, when completely equipped, had been long blocked up in the Texel by admiral Duncan, who commanded a powerful ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. In the beginning of October the Britiſh commander quitted his ſtation, and retired to Yarmouth Roads to refit: on which a peremptory order was iſſued by the Dutch government to admiral de Winter, the commander, to ſtand to ſea. Admiral Duncan, having very early notice of this movement, got under weigh with his ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixteen ſail of the line, with the utmoſt expedition; and, on the morning of the 11th, came in ſight of the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail of the line, but of inferior ſize to the Britiſh. Shortening ſail in order to connect the fleet, he ſaw the land, between Camperdown and Egmont, three leagues to leeward of the enemy; and finding there was no time to be loſt, he threw out the ſignal to engage to leeward, and break the enemy's line. By this bold manœuvre, regardleſs of the danger of a *lee-ſhore*, he prevented the retreat of De Winter, who, finding a battle inevitable, engaged with the utmoſt bravery. Unfortunately for him, admiral Story, who commanded in the centre, ſheered off with the greater part of his diviſion at the commencement of the action, entering the Texel the next day wholly uninjured. After this baſe deſertion the Dutch were manifeſtly overpowered by ſuperior force. Vice-admiral Onſlow, who began the attack, diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt gallantly; and admiral Duncan was ſeen in the thickeſt of the action, in which, unlike the engagement off Cape St. Vincent, every ſhip found full and arduous employment—the Dutch fighting with a degree of courage which bordered upon deſperation. Admiral de Winter ſtruck, a mere wreck, to the Venerable, admiral Duncan's own ſhip. The vice-admiral Reintjies alſo ſurrendered to admiral Onſlow; and the whole fleet would probably have been captured, but, under favor of the night, two or three veſſels eſcaped into the Texel. The ſhips taken were ten of

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the line and two frigates. One of the former, the Delft of 56 guns, ſunk within ſight of the Britiſh coaſt. A more bloody conflict has ſeldom been fought. Nine ſhips of the Britiſh fleet loſt more than 700 men; but this was little to the carnage which took place amongſt the Dutch, of whom 500 were killed and wounded on board the admiral and vice-admiral only. The battle was fought ſo near the ſhore, that every manœuvre might be diſtinctly ſeen; and the whole coaſt, for many miles, was crowded with thouſands of ſpectators—the melancholy witneſſes of the great diſaſter which had befallen their country from a power which profeſſed to enter into the preſent war chiefly with a view to their protection.

Great and univerſal rejoicings were made throughout England for this victory, which was as important as it was glorious; and which produced a much greater ſenſation than any event which had happened ſince the triumph of lord Howe over the French. For although the victory of lord St. Vincent was admired and celebrated by profeſſional men as a moſt brilliant and ſcientific diſplay of nautical ſkill, neither was it ſo deciſive as the preſent, or attended with the ſame great and beneficial conſequences. The Dutch hero De Winter received, on his arrival in England, from the attentions of a generous enemy, every conſolation that the magnitude of his misfortune admitted. The Britiſh admiral, immediately on his return, was created viſcount Duncan of Camperdown, in alluſion to that part of the coaſt of Holland near which this memorable battle was fought.

The extreme abſurdity of the new republican conſtitution of France, which, as it were, eſtabliſhed in the ſame government two claſhing and hoſtile authorities, very early diſplayed itſelf.* From the very origin of it, in 1795, acrimonious

* Nothing, it has been remarked, eſcapes the ſagacity of SHAKSPEARE.—In his hiſtoric drama of Coriolanus, he very forcibly expreſſes the miſchief

acrimonious contentions had taken place upon ſubjects of the utmoſt importance between the executive and legiſlative powers; and the great legiſlative council of Five Hundred ſeemed well diſpoſed gradually to abſorb all the political functions of the Directory into their own vortex. The executive power was manifeſtly deſtitute of the conſtitutional means of maintaining its conſtitutional authority. The committees of the legiſlative council were every thing; the miniſters of ſtate appointed by the Executive Directory were nothing. So far back as the beginning of December, 1796, the Directory had ſent a meſſage to the council, ſtating the extreme financial diſtreſſes of the ſtate, and recommending certain remedial meaſures as abſolutely neceſſary to be immediately adopted. This meſſage being referred to the committee of finances, M. Camus, the preſident, reported "that the alarming and deſperate ſtate of the republic exiſted only in the meſſage; that a ſevere œconomy would reſtore the equilibrium of receipt and expenditure; and that the errors contained in the ſtatement were equalled only by the imprudence of the Directory in making them public." This language, ſo improper to be held from one branch of the ſame government to another, was the infallible omen of future and alarming diſſenſions.

On the 31ſt of January, 1797, a meſſage was tranſmitted by the Directory to the council of Five Hundred, announcing the diſcovery of a royaliſt conſpiracy. It appeared on the evidence of Ramel, commandant of the national guard, and others, that the plan of a counter-revolution had been communicated to them by Dunan, Brotier, &c. to be effected

chief and abſurdity of a form of government which permits this political ſoleciſm of *Imperium in imperio*.

"They chooſe their magiſtrate!—and my ſoul aches
To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither ſupreme, how ſoon confuſion
May enter 'twixt the gap of both, and take
The one by th' other." Act III.

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by the assistance of England. The terrorists and Jacobins were to be engaged as associates in this conspiracy, if it should be found the royalists could not do without them. In the écritoire of Brotier were contained several papers, dated at Verona, with the signature of Louis XVIII.; and about the chevalier Dunan, who had been lately in England, was found a letter from Mr. Windham, secretary at war, in which he "begs him to be persuaded that it is not his fault that nothing is decided respecting the sending of funds for other parties of the royalists."

The conspirators engaged in this crude and unintelligible plot were referred to a military tribunal, who condemned Dunan and Brotier to death, as convicted of the crime of enlisting men for the enemy, and others of them to different terms of imprisonment—the sentence of the two chief conspirators being also subsequently mitigated to the same punishment for a period of ten years.

On the 15th of March a message was sent to the council, "that the Directory found the government too weak to contend against the plots of royalism and anarchy; that the republic was but a problem, and that the audacity of its enemies was such that it might almost be permitted to doubt whether it had any real existence; and recommending the imposition of a new oath of fidelity to the constitution, and of hatred to royalism and anarchy, upon the electors, previous to the choice of the new third." This was coldly received by the council, and the clause of fidelity only agreed to—that of hatred to royalism and anarchy being silently waved.

On the 20th of May the members of the new third took their seats in the two councils, and from this time the opposition to the Directory became very formidable. Amongst the number elected were the generals Pichegru and Jourdain, and the famous Barrère, whose name was heard with marks of indignation; but, when that of Pichegru was announced, the whole assembly rose in honor of the gallant commander

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commander who had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to his country. While Barrère was rejected as an outlaw, general Pichegru was unanimouſly choſen preſident; the ſame diſtinction being conferred upon Barbé Marbois in the ſenate, or council of elders. This augured ill to the Directory, both of them decidedly favoring the ſecret views of oppoſition.

Immediately previous to the meeting of the councils, a vacancy was declared in the executive board, Le Tourneur drawing the lot which diſrobed him of the directorial purple. Barthélemi, who had been ſucceſsfully engaged for two years paſt at Baſle in negotiating with the enemies of the republic, was unanimouſly choſen to the office of director, though known to be of the anti-directorial party. Carnot alſo maintained a good underſtanding with the ſame faction, whoſe ultimate deſigns yet remain enveloped in much obſcurity. From this period almoſt every meaſure propoſed by the Directory was oppoſed, thwarted, and treated with the moſt ſtudied marks of diſreſpect and contempt. The majority of the directors, Reubel, Lepeaux, and Barras, were men who neither diſplayed great talents for government, nor were reputed to poſſeſs great virtues as individuals; but they were men of daring courage and little ſcrupoloſity, and who were ſecretly but firmly reſolved not tamely to ſubmit to the meaſures apparently meditated by their enemies againſt them.

On the 14th of June, Deſmolières made a celebrated report in the name of the committee of finance, which concluded with a ſet of reſolutions calculated to transfer the entire authority, hitherto exerciſed by the Directory, over the public treaſury, to the committee. The council of elders, who perceived, doubtleſs, that this would render them, as well as the Directory, cyphers, put their negative upon this decree. On the 23d of June, Dumolard propoſed a committee to examine the external relations of the French nation; and complained greatly of the diſturbance given,

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given, under the ſanction of the Directory, to the Venetian, Genoeſe, and Helvetic republics—the conduct, not of the Directory merely, but of Buonaparte himſelf, being very ſeverely ſcrutinized. Repeated complaints were made by the Directory to the council of the ſeditious conduct of the emigrant prieſts, who now, under protection of a legiſlative proviſion in their favor, returned in great numbers from their exile; and whom they repreſented as every-where diſturbers of the public peace; and propoſed reſtraining laws, which were treated by the council with contemptuous diſregard.

The city of Lyons being declared by the Directory, in conſequence of new inſurrections and diſorders amongſt the inhabitants, in a ſtate of ſiege, the council took great umbrage at this; and a reſolution paſſed, on the motion of general Jourdain, "that ſuch power ſhould only be exerciſed in virtue of a decree of the legiſlative body." On the removal of Benezech, miniſter for home affairs, and Cochon, miniſter of police, who were ſuppoſed to favour the oppoſing, and, as they were at this time deemed, the riſing, party in the council, freſh and violent murmurs were excited; and, on the motion of Camille Jourdain, a vote paſſed to require of the Directory a report of the preſent ſituation of the republic. Barras being the director moſt obnoxious, an attempt was made to deprive him of his dignity, by making it a queſtion whether he was of the age ſpecified by law on entering upon his office. But this director affirming that he was preciſely forty at the time of his election, and no one being able to prove the contrary, the ſcheme proved abortive.

On the 20th of July the generals Pichegru and Willot preſented a plan for the re-organization of the national guard. The leading feature of it was to deprive the Directory of the right of nominating the officers. This was adopted, and paſſed into a decree. About the ſame time the

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the council received intelligence that a detachment of the army, which was to embark at Breſt, had, in their march, paſſed through Ferte Alais, eleven leagues diſtant from Paris; whereas the Conſtitutional Act prohibited all troops from coming within twelve leagues from that city. This threw the council into a flame; and, although the order of march was proved to be written at Aix-la-Chapelle, by general Richepanſe, who declared himſelf ignorant of his having violated the conſtitutional limits of the act, and, moreover, that he did not even know of the exiſtence of any ſuch prohibition, they were by no means ſatisfied, and ſeveral angry reſolutions were paſſed upon this occaſion, calculated to throw odium upon the executive government. An addition was made to the military guard of the council, and the preciſe limits of the conſtitutional radius around Paris were aſcertained by the erection of pillars.

The political horizon of the metropolis was growing every day more dark and portentous. The news of the conteſt between the executive and legiſlative branches of the government had reached the armies, and been echoed back in addreſſes to the Directory, promiſing them ſupport in this conflict againſt their enemies. On the anniverſary of the 14th of July, general Buonaparte iſſued a declaration, informing his brave ſoldiers, "that the country was menaced with new dangers from the enemies of government within. Let us ſwear," ſaid he, "by the manes of thoſe who have fallen by our ſide in the cauſe of liberty—let us ſwear on the colours we have newly gained—implacable war to the enemies of the republic, and of the conſtitution!" The armies of Moreau and Hoche ſhewed no leſs zeal in the cauſe of the Directory, which they conceived to be that of the conſtitution. Theſe addreſſes were juſtly the ſubject of great alarm to the council, and meſſages were ſent to the Directory, to inquire into this infraction of the conſtitution, in permitting the deliberations of an armed body, and in receiving addreſſes from them: alſo a reſolution

paſſed,

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paſſed, declaring every aſſemblage of ſoldiers, convened for the purpoſe of deliberation, criminal, and the promoters of ſuch aſſemblies liable to puniſhment. Things were now come to a criſis; and, though no one could tell how the conteſt would end, a great political exploſion was univerſally expected; and the majority of the Directory not being—conformably to the wiſe policy of the Engliſh conſtitution, reſpecting the executive power—exempted from perſonal reſponſibility, were urged, by the beſt-founded apprehenſions for their own ſafety, to the moſt deſperate and deſpotic meaſures.

The oppoſition in the council manifeſtly proceeded from a combination of cauſes, calculated to produce, upon the whole, a great effect, though, to all appearance, radically deficient in harmony of deſign or unity of object.

1ſt. The conſtitution itſelf contained, in its original ſtructure, the *ſtamina* of perpetual diſcord, as furniſhing the legiſlative council with irreſiſtible motives to the unconſtitutional extenſion of their powers, and, moreover, with the political means of gratifying whatever their boldeſt ambition could lead them to attempt.

2dly. A conſiderable proportion of the council conſiſted of terroriſts, who ſtill ſighed for the eſtabliſhment of the democratic conſtitution of 1793, and who watched with eagerneſs every opportunity of leſſening the credit, and finally of ſubverting the authority, of the exiſting government.

3dly. Another claſs of the members, but inferior in number, conſiſted of royaliſts—very few probably of the old ſtamp, but real friends of rational liberty, who ſaw no likelihood of a firm ſettlement but in the reſtoration of the monarchy, on the principles of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly in 1789.

4thly. A fourth claſs profeſſed and probably entertained a firm attachment to the exiſting conſtitution; but were thrown into the arms of the oppoſition by their own obſervation

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vation of the incapacity, the corruption, and miſmanagement, which pervaded every branch and department of the executive government.

Theſe parties making occaſional and mutual conceſſions to each other for the ſake of maintaining their joint ſuperiority, many reſolutions, ſeemingly inconſiſtent in themſelves, but equally diſagreeable to the Directory, were the neceſſary reſult—ſome of them highly jacobinical, and others no leſs favorable to royaliſm. Under all theſe diſcouragements and diſadvantages, the Directory poſſeſſed one formidable prerogative, which, when put in the balance, infinitely outweighed them all—*viz.* the command of the immenſe military force, foreign and domeſtic, of the republic, whoſe confidence and regard they had moſt aſſiduouſly cultivated. Emboldened by the late addreſſes from the different armies, they now determined effectually to cruſh all oppoſition, by the complete deſtruction of their opponents. General Augereau, a bold and active officer, had been ſent from Italy by Buonaparte, under the pretext of conveying ſome ſtands of colours, taken from the enemy, to the Directory, who entruſted to him the execution of their project. The executive government, which had hitherto held conciliatory language, now threw off the maſk, on a day of public audience, and declared, by the mouth of the preſident, "that the eternal enemies of French liberty were redoubling in vain their efforts to overturn it; calling in for this purpoſe bands of fanatics and royaliſts"—alluding to the recent relaxation of the laws againſt refractory prieſts and emigrants: "but with theſe enemies of the republic," the preſident ſaid, "the Directory would make no compromiſe; they would ſuffer themſelves neither to be ſeduced nor affrighted; nor would they acknowledge any authorities but ſuch as the conſtitution traced out; and neither the number nor the *ſpecies* of their enemies ſhould cauſe in them any diſmay."*

This

* Anſwer of the preſident to the addreſſes of the Ciſalpine ambaſſador and general Bernadotte on the preſentation of ſtandards, &c. from Italy.

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This was the ſignal of hoſtility; and the members of oppoſition, who had thrown out ſuch haughty menaces againſt the Directory, were now, for the firſt time, awakened to a ſenſe of their own danger. Early on the morning of the 18th of Fructidor, (4th of September, 1797) the alarm-guns were fired by order of the majority of the Directory; for Barthélemi, refuſing to concur in theſe meaſures, was put under arreſt, while Carnot effected his eſcape. General Augereau at the ſame time received his inſtructions to ſurround the hall of the councils with a military force. This taſk he performed with conſummate courage and addreſs. Firſt repairing to the barracks of the legiſlative guard, he aſſured them that he came only to preſerve the conſtitution, and to ſave the republic from a conſpiracy of royaliſts. He was anſwered by the ſoldiers with ſhouts of *Vive la République!* and they declared their readineſs, in contempt of the expoſtulations and defiance of the threats of Ramel their commander, to obey his orders and follow him. Thus reinforced, Augereau entered the hall, where he found the chiefs of the oppoſition ſitting in council, and tardily deliberating on the ſteps proper to be taken by them in this emergency. With his own hand, Augereau ſeized upon general Pichegru, ſo lately the terror of Europe, and the arbiter of the fate of nations,—ordering eighteen others of the members preſent to be arreſted, amongſt whom were Boiſſy d'Anglas, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, Dumolard, Rovère, Willot, and other diſtinguiſhed characters. The conſpirators, as they were called, were committed to the Temple, the halls ſhut up, and ſeals affixed to the doors by Augereau.

A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, to calm the minds of the people, and announcing "that, by the *vigilance* of the government, thoſe dark manœuvres were detected and overthrown which had for a whole year ſhaken the foundations of the republic, and which were preparing the way for a new and moſt horrible attack of royaliſm, which

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which aimed at no leſs than the maſſacre of the Directory and of the deputies faithful to the people;—that the Directory was about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it had collected concerning this deep and dangerous conſpiracy." To the council of Five Hundred, now ſummoned to meet at the Odeon, formerly a public theatre in the Fauxbourg St. Germaine, the Directory declared "that they had been forced to the meaſures recently taken." "If," ſaid they, "the executive power had withheld itſelf from action one day longer, the republic would have been delivered up to its enemies—the conduct of the Directory was marked out by the inſtant neceſſity of being beforehand with theſe conſpirators, who wiſhed to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation bow at the feet of the kings it has ſubdued."

On the next day a ſtill more-alarming meſſage was ſent from the Directory to the council. "The moment," ſay they, "is deciſive; if you allow it to paſs by, if you heſitate on the meaſures to be taken, if you put off your determination for an inſtant, all will be loſt—both you and the republic. You are at the brink of a volcano—it is about to ſwallow you up; to-morrow will be too late. You are placed in an unprecedented predicament—ordinary rules cannot apply to ſo extraordinary a caſe. What miſconceived pity would place the fate of a few individuals in balance with that of the republic?" After this prologue to the tragi-comic drama preparing to be acted, a committee of ſafety, conſiſting of five perſons, being choſen, Boulay de la Meurthe, the reporter, aſcended the tribune, and made a long oration, to prove "that the meaſures purſued by the oppoſition party in the council could have no other object than the reſtoration of royaliſm. *Without doubt*," ſaid he, "an ordinary tribunal would declare the conſpiracy real, and puniſh the authors. But let us declare to France, that not a drop of blood ſhall be ſhed,—that the ſcaffold of terror ſhall not be erected anew."

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Under this ſpecious pretence of lenity, therefore, he propoſed the plan of a decree; according to which, 1ſt. A great number of the late elections in the month of Floreal, with others to the judicial tribunals, were declared either valid or invalid, as ſuited the purpoſe of the Directory. 2dly. About ſixty members of the two councils, and twelve other perſons, had, without any trial or even examination, the ſentence of *deportation* paſſed upon them, to ſuch place as the Directory ſhould determine. Amongſt theſe were the two directors, Carnot and Barthélemi; the ex-miniſter Cochon; the generals Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and Miranda; with Boiſſy d'Anglas, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, Dumolard, Paſtoret, Vaublanc, and many other perſons of eminence, whoſe attachment to the cauſe of liberty and the republic there appeared no juſt ground to doubt. 3dly. All individuals whoſe names are inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, ſhall quit the territories of the republic in fifteen days. 4th. Every ſociety profeſſing principles hoſtile to the conſtitution of the third year ſhall be ſhut up.—All which paſſed both councils with the greateſt unanimity.

On the 20th Fructidor, general Jourdan, who had made in good time his peace with the Directory, moved for the nomination of proper perſons to ſucceed the directors Carnot and Barthélemi. Out of the ſeveral liſts preſented to them, the council of elders choſe François de Neufchâteau, and Merlin, miniſter of the home department. Thus was the authority of the Directory eſtabliſhed at the expenſe only of law, juſtice, equity, and the conſtitution; and there s reaſon to believe that they regarded the victory as cheaply gained.

After a ſhort interval the directors laid before the councils and the public the juſtificatory proofs, ſuch as they were, of the conſpiracy; which they claimed the merit of extinguiſhing by their patriotic vigilance, when on the eve of a moſt horrible exploſion. The documents in queſtion have

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have been branded as forgeries of the Directory; but if they ſcrupled not to forge, they would certainly have invented what was more to their purpoſe. By far the moſt remarkable of theſe was a paper, the genuineneſs of which was atteſted by the generals Buonaparte and Berthier, purporting to be minutes of a converſation held by M. d'Entragues, an agent of Louis XVIII. at Venice, with the count Montgaillard, an emigrant of diſtinction, relative to the deſigns, at all times carrying on with more or leſs activity, for the effecting a counter-revolution. In this paper it is aſſerted, that Montgaillard finding Pichegru diſpoſed to liſten to propoſitions, the count, in the name of Louis XVIII. and the prince of Condé, offered him the rank of mareſchal of France, the red ribband, the government of Alſace, &c. &c.; requiring of him, in return, to join his army to that of the prince of Condé, and, delivering up the fortreſs of Huningue, to march forthwith to Paris. With this propoſal Pichegru refuſed to comply, ſtating, "that unwilling to make the third volume to La Fayette and Dumouriez, he would do nothing raſhly."—He affirmed, nevertheleſs, "that his means were great and ſure; that they had their roots not only in his army, but at Paris, in the convention, in the departments, in the armies of the generals his colleagues, who thought, like himſelf, that the preſent ſyſtem muſt finiſh; that France could not exiſt as a republic; that there muſt be a king; and *that* king Louis XVIII." The plan which he propoſed, after putting the ſtrong places on the frontier in the hands of his moſt confidential officers, was, on a day concerted, "to proclaim the king, to hoiſt the white ſtandard, and to unite his army with thoſe of *Wurmſter* and Condé; and then to commence his march to Paris." This propoſal was declined by the prince of Condé, probably becauſe general Wurmſer had no authority thus to riſk his army; but, according to the author of the Minutes, becauſe the prince, equally ſtupid and proud, thought himſelf

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ſelf ſure of effecting the counter-revolution another way, and would not ſhare the glory of it with the Auſtrian general.

Many other papers were produced, which had been tranſmitted by general Moreau to the Directory, containing ſtrong corroborative evidence, that a plot of a very extenſive nature was going forward, in which many perſons of great eminence were involved, and general Pichegru very deeply: and it was now apparent why that celebrated officer was removed from his command, in the height of his ſucceſſes. The cloud of myſtery, nevertheleſs, which originally hung over this whole tranſaction, time has not diſpelled :---The object of the Directory was to confound, and not to diſcriminate; and, under the pretext and cover of an horrible plot, partly real, partly pretended, ſupported by proofs not adequate to the legal crimination perhaps of any individual, but ſufficient to agitate and terrify the public mind, to implicate all their enemies, Jacobins, royaliſts, and patriots, in one common ruin. Thus were the two councils purged of diſaffection and diſloyalty; and, being now at leiſure to conſider farther the nature and extent of the danger ſo recently and happily ſurmounted, they declared "that one of the meaſures of the late conſpirators was to deprive the executive power of the moral and conſtitutional means of carrying on its functions; to arraign every part of its conduct, and, by degrees, deprive it of each of its prerogatives, and thus bring it to its diſſolution." To guard againſt the return of a peril ſo dreadful—excluſive of various other legiſlative regulations, by one of which the operations of the primary aſſemblies in no leſs than forty-nine departments were declared null and void—they ſubjected the care of the *liberty of the preſs*, for the term of one year, to the inſpection of the police; and the liberty of ſpeech in the council was confined to the privilege, ſtill generouſly left them, of applauding the wiſdom and activity of the executive government.

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In the beginning of the month of June, lord Grenville had made, on the part of the king of Great Britain, a third effort to effect a pacification with France, by a direct application to M. de la Croix, declaring himself authorized to propose, without delay, to enter, in such manner as shall be judged most expedient, upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of each party. A polite answer was immediately returned by M. de la Croix, expressing the extreme satisfaction with which the Directory would receive the overtures which should be made to it by the court of England; and Lisle was fixed upon as the place of meeting.—On the 17th of June lord Grenville, in a well-written letter, stated, "that the powers of the ambassador would be so full as to include *every case*, and to conclude *any articles* or treaties conducive to the speedy establishment of peace, which," said his lordship, "is the sole object of his mission—and informing the Directory that his majesty had made choice of *the same minister* to represent him on this as on the former occasion."—M. de la Croix, in reply, signified "the *consent* of the Directory, that the negotiation should be opened with lord Malmesbury. Another choice would, however," said he, "have appeared to the Directory to augur more favorably for the speedy conclusion of peace." This was an early step towards the creating of a misunderstanding. That the Directory had reason to except against the re-appointment of lord Malmesbury, from the disingenuous manner in which he had executed his former commission, must be allowed; that the second nomination of a man so politically obnoxious was highly impolitic, cannot be doubted; but no objection having been made by M. de la Croix, in his first letter to that nobleman, it would surely have argued more wisdom and temper in the French government to have waved this invidious observation altogether. Lord Grenville, in his accustomed cold, haughty, and repulsive manner, from which he had in his last dispatch happily deviated, replied

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to M. de la Croix, " that lord Malmeſbury will, without delay, proceed to Liſle, to enter into a negotiation with the French plenipotentiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty—the remark of the Directory, upon the choice which his majeſty had thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require *any* anſwer."*

On the part of the Directory were nominated, as plenipotentiaries, the citizens Le Tourneur, late member of the Directorial Council, Pleville, and Maret, men of ſenſe, moderation, and ſagacity. The firſt diſpatch of lord Malmeſbury to lord Grenville is dated July the 11th, in which he mentions " that he had, in a conference with the French commiſſioners, on the 8th, given in the *projet* preciſely as he had received it from his lordſhip. This the commiſſioners had tranſmitted to the Directory. But in the mean time, and till their anſwer arrived, M. le Tourneur

* " On the 30th of December, 1796," ſays the admirable writer ſo often quoted in this volume, " Mr. Pitt informed the houſe of commons, ' that the king's ambaſſador had been diſmiſſed with every mark of ignominy and inſult; that a ſtudied inſult, refined and matured by the French Directory, had been offered to his Britannic majeſty.' And then he aſked, ' whether, after the king's miniſter had been ordered, in the moſt inſulting manner, to leave the territories of France; after our propoſitions had been ſlighted, and our ambaſſador inſulted; were we, by ſending couriers to Paris, to proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of a ſtubborn and ſupercilious government, to do what they require, and to ſubmit to whatever they may impoſe? I hope there is not a hand in his majeſty's councils which would ſign the propoſal; that there is not a heart in this houſe who would ſanction the meaſure; and that there is not an individual in the Britiſh dominions who would act as the courier.'—Such language, whether true or not, may ſerve to inflame a popular aſſembly, but is not ſafe or juſtifiable in a miniſter of ſtate. How can he adhere to it without perpetual war? How can he retract it without everlaſting infamy? The French made no apology. They offered no reparation. Yet, in leſs than ſix months, when the miniſter himſelf had ſo degraded the office, that no gentleman ought to have accepted of it, the ſame hand was found to ſign, the ſame heart to ſanction, and the ſame courier to carry the meſſage exactly to the ſame parties."

' *Queſtion Stated*,' pp. 11, 12.

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neur and his colleagues expreſſed their wiſhes to diſcuſs ſome inſulated points not referred to in the *projet*, but which were affirmed to be "INSEPARABLY CONNECTED with the general ſubject of peace." *Firſt*, It was obſerved in the ſubſequent conference, "that in the preamble of the *projet* the title of King of France was uſed. This title," it was contended by the commiſſioners, "could no longer be inſiſted on; the abolition of it was in a manner eſſential to the full acknowledgment of the French republic." A government truly wiſe would have been happy to have embraced any favorable opportunity of diſcarding a title which was worſe than nothing, and vanity; it was a ſtanding cauſe of irritation—a permanent monument of injuſtice. An ambaſſador truly able would have yielded the point with frankneſs—pleaſed, by ſo eaſy a conceſſion, to infuſe that ſpirit of good humour into the negotiation ſo eſſential to its ultimate ſucceſs: But lord Malmeſbury, a genuine diſciple of the old ſchool, and wholly deſtitute of that force of penetration which at once perceives and recogniſes the neceſſity of conforming to circumſtances in new ſituations, propoſed a ſeparate article, ſimilar to that inſerted in former treaties, as ſufficiently obviating the difficulty. The French plenipotentiary replied, "that it was to the title itſelf, as well as to any right which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from it, that they objected."—"This mode of reaſoning," lord Malmeſbury tells the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, "he could ſcarcely allow himſelf to treat ſeriouſly." But why it ſhould not be treated ſeriouſly ſeems impoſſible to conjecture. It was not only pardonable but proper for the French republican government to require the renunciation in queſtion. If it appeared upon the very face of the thing prepoſterous that the king of England ſhould ſtyle himſelf King of France to the end of time, what period could be more ſuitable to the relinquiſhment of ſuch a ridiculous aſſumption than the preciſe moment when England acknowledged the validity of a government in France which had

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for ever aboliſhed *King-ſhip*.—Lord Malmeſbury thought fit, however, to enter into an elaborate defence of this idle pretenſion. "He endeavoured," he ſays, "to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word." On the part of England this propoſition was moſt certainly true;—as applied to France, it was as certainly falſe. Suppoſing the Directory of France had choſen to ſtyle themſelves the Directory of England, would it have been a mere cavil in the Engliſh government to have objected to their preſumption? When a claim is advanced abſurd in itſelf, and revolting to the feelings of mankind, to except againſt it is not "cavilling," even allowing ſuch claim to be unattended with actual inconvenience: But to require this relinquiſhment of title was more than probable—it was juſt and rational in France; for it was aſking the removal of an antient and rooted cauſe of irritation and offence; and to refuſe this relinquiſhment was irrational in England at any time, more eſpecially at the commencement of a moſt important negotiation, which the ſpirit of wiſdom and conciliation only could bring to a happy iſſue. A miniſter who did not ſee this grand truth clearly and diſtinctly was utterly unfit to be employed in ſo momentous a concern; and this firſt falſe ſtep of lord Malmeſbury ſhewed, in a ſtriking manner, how well founded was the *preſentiment* of the Directory, that the appointment of this nobleman augured ill to the ſucceſs of the negotiation. Though ſcarcely could he allow himſelf, as he profeſſes, to treat the ſubject ſeriouſly, he entered into a very dull and tedious harangue, to prove how conſiſtent it was with the dignity and ſecurity of the republic to ſuffer this obnoxious title to be retained—quoting, unfortunately for the honor of England, the loſty titles aſſumed by the feeble and falling monarchs of Sardinia and Sicily, as examples *exactly* in point. The French commiſſioners were much more eaſily convinced that the ſecurity of the republic was not concerned in this diſcuſſion than of the dignity of it: and, in fact, the dignity of both nations,

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if national *dignity* includes, in the definition of it, *common ſenſe*, equally required the ſacrifice of this folly. After much diſputation, lord Malmeſbury arguing, as he ſays, in vain, could not avoid taking it for reference,—leaving upon the minds of the French commiſſioners an impreſſion relative to his diplomatic talents, the moſt diſtant in the world from that of reſpect and confidence.*

"The *ſecond* inſulated point," continues lord Malmeſbury, "was a very material one indeed, and came upon him very unexpectedly. It was to aſk a reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or an equivalent for them." The ambaſſador replied, "that this claim was ſo perfectly unlooked for, that it was *impoſſible* for him to have been provided for it in his inſtructions; but that his own private ſentiments were, that they could not have deviſed a ſtep more likely to defeat the great end of their miſſion." His lordſhip ſaid, "that he did not ſee where this equivalent was to be found, or how it was to be appreciated; and he truſted that this very inadmiſſible propoſal would be withdrawn." They ſaid it was not in their power; and one of the commiſſioners read from their written inſtructions a paſſage which confirmed the aſſertion.—As lord Malmeſbury, in his ſeveral letters, is much more full in reporting his own arguments than thoſe of his adverſaries, it may, in juſtice to the French commiſſioners, be proper to ſtate the nature of their claim fairly and

* Certainly the ſagacious Hume did not regard this abſurd and unjuſt aſſumption of title in the light which lord Malmeſbury ſeems ſo eager to place it in, if we may judge from the following quotation:—"From this period," (A. D. 1338) ſays that philoſophical hiſtorian, "when Edward III. firſt took upon him the title of King of France, we may date the commencement of that great animoſity which the Engliſh nation have ever ſince borne to the French, which has ſo viſible an influence on all future tranſactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the ſpring of many raſh and precipitate reſolutions amongſt them."

"When will ambition," ſays another reſpectable hiſtorian, "liſten to the voice of reaſon and humanity, and permit mankind to enjoy the gifts of nature and providence in peace?"

 Henry, vol. x. p. 82.

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and explicitly. It ſtands thus:—"Lord Hood was admitted into Toulon, and took poſſeſſion of the ſhips, &c. on the following condition, viz. That when peace ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in France, the ſhips and forts which ſhall have been put into the hands of the Engliſh ſhall be reſtored to the FRENCH NATION, in the ſame ſtate they were in when the inventory was delivered. By treating with the republic you acknowledge the exiſtence of a competent government, to which every reſtitution due to the French nation ought to be made. You cannot pretend that you hold the ſhips taken at Toulon as a depoſit in truſt for Louis XVIII. when, by making a perpetual peace with the republic, you are yourſelves parties to an act which annihilates the pretenſions of that perſon. Neither could even he have any claim to the reſtitution, unleſs he were in poſſeſſion of the throne. Ships of war, magazines, &c. are national property, not within the perſonal ownerſhip of princes; much leſs removable with their perſons: they are the fixtures of the ſtate, which even the ſovereign in poſſeſſion cannot alienate from the defence or ſervice of the country. We demand the reſtitution, as repreſentatives of the French nation, which you acknowledge us to be, and preciſely in the terms of your own engagement."* Lord Malmeſbury rejects the claim, without attempting to anſwer the plea; for it ſurely is no anſwer to an argument to ſay that you are *ſurpriſed* at it. As for its being "unlooked for," no ſubject was more frequently mentioned in England, or more likely to be inſiſted upon by France. The ſame thing may indeed be remarked of the firſt of theſe inſulated propoſitions.

"The *third* queſtion," ſays lord Malmeſbury, "was, as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in conſequence of money lent to the emperor by Great Britain. They wiſhed to know if any ſuch exiſted; ſince, as they had taken the Low Countries, charged with all their incumbrances,

* Vide 'QUESTION STATED,' pp. 15, 16.

cumbrances, they were to declare that they ſhould not conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage given for money lent to the emperor for the purpoſe of carrying on war againſt them. I told them, that, without replying to this queſtion, ſuppoſing the caſe to exiſt, the exception they required ſhould have been ſtated in their treaty with the emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they ſtood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what thoſe words meant; and that if no exception was ſtated in the firſt inſtance, none could be made with a retro-active effect. The French plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two: and as I found, to every argument I uſed, that they conſtantly oppoſed their inſtructions, I had nothing to do but to deſire that they would give me a written paper, ſtating their three claims, in order that I might immediately tranſmit it to your lordſhip; and, on this being promiſed, our conference broke up."—As lord Malmeſbury has entirely omitted to ſtate the ground on which the French commiſſioners reſted their firſt claim, it can only be conjectured that they actually did, as they certainly might with good reaſon, allege the invalidity of any mortgage title upon the revenues of the Low Countries, granted by the emperor at a time when the countries themſelves were not in his poſſeſſion; and that, although the caſe of the Engliſh mortgage might not be in immediate contemplation at the moment when the article of ceſſion was framed, it could never be ſuppoſed the intention of the French government to ſanction ſo great an abſurdity as to admit that the revenues of a territory actually conquered by them, could, according to any rule of equity or common ſenſe, be mortgaged by their former poſſeſſor for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on the war againſt them.—Even had the claim, on the part of the French, been wholly arbitrary, it was not ſurely a point worth contending ſeriouſly about, conſidering the degree of eſtimation

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in which the Imperial ſecurities were held on the London Exchange; and, by *proviſionally* conceding this and the former points with cheerfulneſs and facility, reciprocal conceſſions might have been reaſonably expected from France, and the negotiation would have proceeded under happy auſpices.

The PROJET delivered by lord Malmeſbury to the commiſſioners of France was founded profeſſedly on the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, with ſuch exceptions as ſhould be ſtipulated by ſpecific articles of the treaty—the French engaging to procure for the Houſe of Orange, at a general peace, an adequate compenſation for the loſs of their hereditary dignities. Several blanks were of courſe left in the *projet*, to be filled up as the negotiation went forward. The French commiſſioners, expreſſing their wiſhes that lord Malmeſbury would inform them in writing in what mode he meant to propoſe that theſe blanks ſhould be filled up, the Engliſh ambaſſador inſerted in the 13th article, relative to Spain, the words "with the exception of Trinidad, which ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion to his Britiſh majeſty,"—adding that this was intended to balance the augmentation of power accruing to France from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo.

In the 14th article, relative to Holland, lord Malmeſbury inſerted the words "with the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope; and of the poſſeſſions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the iſland of Ceylon; and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic majeſty in exchange for the town of Negapatnam, with its dependencies." In the ſame note lord Malmeſbury ſignified that the poſitive demand of the French commiſſioners, of an entire reſtitution of the poſſeſſions belonging to France before the war, would not be an inſuperable obſtacle to the negotiation.

It would be great injuſtice not to admit---conſidering the number and value of the conqueſts made by England during the

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the war, and, pre-ſuppoſing the propriety of treating Holland, for whoſe defence we entered, or pretended to enter, into the war, as an enemy—that the propoſals of the court of London on this occaſion were very reaſonable and moderate—certainly as much ſo as the French themſelves could poſſibly expect. So that if the preliminary demands had been, with a good grace, complied with, the negotiation would, in all probability, have terminated ſpeedily and happily.* But, in conſequence of the pertinacious and irritating oppoſition of lord Malmeſbury, to whom, on this occaſion at leaſt, great powers were entruſted, and on whoſe diplomatic addreſs and ability every thing at this important moment depended, the negotiation ſuddenly aſſumed a moſt unpleaſant and ominous appearance.

On the 10th of July the French plenipotentiaries delivered to lord Malmeſbury a formal official note, in which they inform his lordſhip, "that they have the poſitive orders of the Directory, to require: 1ſt. The renunciation of the title of king of France borne by his Britannic majeſty. 2d. The miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic are ordered to demand the reſtitution of the veſſels taken or deſtroyed at Toulon. 3d. The miniſters plenipotentiary have orders

* It would indeed have manifeſted a degree of wiſdom and magnanimity too rare and exalted to become the ſubject of practical diſcuſſion, for England to have reſtored, voluntarily and generouſly, all her conqueſts, made during the preſent war—and which were, in fact, no better than ſplendid incumbrances. It is remarkable, that a hundred and thirty years before this time, when Britain could boaſt of a very few foreign poſſeſſions, ſir William Temple, ambaſſador to the States General, at his firſt audience, declared, "that the king, his maſter, contented with thoſe great and powerful kingdoms which God had given him, coveted nothing from his neighbours; nor had he other thoughts or wiſhes beſide thoſe of the common peace and repoſe of Chriſtendom." And queen Elizabeth, in one of her ſpeeches to parliament, avowed, "that though it might be thought ſimplicity in her, ſhe had not thought to advance her territories and enlarge her dominions, albeit opportunities had ſerved her to do it." Happy! had the policy of this great princeſs never been departed from.

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orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, of the mortgage on Belgium."

On the 13th of July lord Grenville wrote a very remarkable letter to lord Malmeſbury, in which he ſays, "that the preliminary demands of the French miniſters have been received by the court of London *with great ſurpriſe*. On the ſubject of the Netherlands, as connected with the Auſtrian loans," ſays his lordſhip, "it is conceived that any explanation between his majeſty and the French government is wholly unneceſſary. The loans raiſed in England for the ſervice of the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of parliament, here reſt, as your lordſhip will perceive by the annexed copy of the convention on that ſubject, upon the ſecurity of all the revenues of the hereditary dominions of his Imperial majeſty. They do not ſeem in any manner to come under the deſcription contained in the ſixth article of the preliminaries between Auſtria and France, reſpecting mortgages upon the ſoil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to *interfere* in the buſineſs. On the other two points I have nothing to add to the obſervations which your lordſhip has already made upon them; and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the anſwer to the *projet* delivered by your lordſhip, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Here then one obſtacle, at leaſt, to the treaty, after all the previous and invidious oppoſition of lord Malmeſbury, is effectually removed; for the third preliminary of France it ſeems related to the renunciation of an ideal claim which Great Britain had no intention to bring forward. But if France thought that ſhe might be *ſuppoſed* to have contracted an obligation to England, by accepting the ceſſion of the Netherlands with all the incumbrances, it was not officious

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in her, but a mark of good faith, to require, formally, a releaſe from that engagement. On this point, however, it now appeared that the ſentiments of both governments were preciſely the ſame.

On the peruſal of lord Grenville's letter, it is very apparent that the ſecretary had fallen into the very ſame fatal error with the ambaſſador, and that neither had political penetration ſufficient to perceive the extreme importance which the French attached to their preliminary demands, although they were all, in fact, points of honor infinitely more than of intereſt. The *firſt* of the three was too obviouſly ſo to require a comment. As to the *ſecond*, the French plenipotentiaries themſelves obſerved, "that, without a reſtitution of the ſhips, an equivalent might be found to effect the purpoſe deſired, ſince *their great object* was that ſomething ſhould appear to prove that this juſt demand had not been over-looked by them, and was not left unſatisfied by us." Not a ſyllable had been urged by lord Malmeſbury to evince the impropriety or injuſtice of this claim; yet lord Grenville declares, that he has nothing to add to his lordſhip's obſervations. With reſpect to the intereſt which the French government might connect with the *third* claim, as the mortgage in queſtion extended to the revenues of all the emperor's hereditary dominions, it is evident that, admitting the reſponſibility of the Low Countries, the proportion which would attach to them muſt be extremely inſignificant. Theſe demands, which appeared to the French government ſo juſt and reaſonable in themſelves, and ſo little injurious to England to grant, were refuſed in that ſpirit of diſingenuous cavil, which ſeemed to indicate, that lord Malmeſbury deemed it the firſt, if not the ſole, duty of an ambaſſador, to object to every propoſition that could be advanced, and to refrain from every conceſſion that might be required. Such were the unfavorable omens under which the diſcuſſion of the Engliſh *projet* commenced.

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On the 13th of July a conference upon this ſubject was held between the Engliſh ambaſſador and the French commiſſioners; when the latter ſtated their objections to the *ſecond* article, importing the renewal of former treaties concluded at Nimeguen, Ryſwick, Utrecht, &c. &c. as containing many particulars ſuperfluous, irrelevant, and even diſcordant to the preſent order of things. The diſcuſſion was conducted with decorum and propriety, and it was at laſt agreed to enter into an attentive inveſtigation of the ſeveral treaties ſpecified, in order more clearly to aſcertain the force of the objection. The French miniſters ſaid, "that their ſincere and only deſire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be ſo framed as to ſecure permanency, the object for which it was intended:" and lord Malmeſbury rejoined, "that nothing could be ſo conſonant to his orders, or the intentions of his royal maſter."

On the 15th of July the ambaſſador received a note from the French legation, which certainly appeared, upon the face of it, very extraordinary—importing, that they had received freſh orders from Paris, requiring them to make the following declaration.—"There exiſt in the public and ſecret treaties by which the French republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, articles by which the three powers reſpectively guarantee the territories poſſeſſed by each of them before the war. The French government, unable to detach itſelf from the engagements which it has contracted by theſe treaties, eſtabliſhes, as an indiſpenſable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the conſent of his Britannic majeſty to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but, further and formally, of thoſe of Spain and the Batavian republic. In conſequence, the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary requeſt lord Malmeſbury to explain himſelf with regard to this reſtitution, and to conſent to it, if he is authorized to do ſo; if not, and in the

the contrary caſe, to ſend a meſſenger to his court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers."

Unqueſtionably, the Directory were thrown into the extreme ill-humour by the obſtinacy of lord Malmeſbury's oppoſition to the preliminary demands, and the deſpicable chicanery of his arguments. And, ſuſpecting the extent of his powers, which had been in the former inſtance ſo limited, and jealous that the court of London meant, as before, merely to trifle with them---which does not appear to have been the fact, for neceſſity had produced ſincerity, though it failed to create wiſdom---they had recourſe to this method of ſolving their doubts. Lord Malmeſbury properly replied, " that he had no heſitation in declaring to them that his *inſtructions* did by no means authorize him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeemed intended to eſtabliſh ;"---but, previous to ſending off a meſſenger to his court, his lordſhip propoſed a conference for the purpoſe of explanation. In this conference the French commiſſioners were unanimouſly of opinion that the demand of the Directory was by no means intended to preclude diſcuſſion: on the contrary, they invited propoſals from the ambaſſador, ſaying, " if they ſhould be found ſuch as it will be impoſſible for us to admit, we will, on our ſide, bring forward others for your court to deliberate upon."

Notwithſtanding this explanation of the commiſſioners, lord Grenville, in reply (July 20), declares the claim in queſtion to be ſo extravagant as to afford a ſtrong preſumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation, and that nothing in this caſe remains but to oppoſe with energy a ſyſtem tending to perpetuate a ſtate of war in Europe. The letter of lord Grenville, which is a very long one, diſcovers an extreme deficiency in diplomatic ability. If the French government in the late note meant to include the inſtructions as well as powers of lord Malmeſbury, the negotiation muſt neceſſarily be at an end, the demand being equally abſurd and inſolent: if to his powers only, as the commiſſioners

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commiſſioners themſelves underſtood it, the difficulty was eaſily and at once obviated, by veſting in him the full powers required, and leaving him to his diſcretion,—or, if neceſſary, limiting him, by his inſtructions, in the exerciſe of thoſe powers. But the letter of lord Grenville conſiſts of a vehement declamation againſt a demand, which, in the ſenſe of the declaimer, was never intended to be made. Far, however, from bearing the marks of inſincerity, the letter diſcovers great anxiety that the negotiation ſhould proceed, even if the *projet* offered by England were wholly withdrawn, and that a diſpoſition on the part of France appeared rather to treat upon the baſis of a *contre-projet* of their own framing. And the treaty of Pilnitz having been mentioned in the courſe of the late conferences, lord Malmeſbury is expreſsly authorized to ſtate to the French commiſſioners, " that if any ſecret treaty was, in fact, concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late emperor and the king of Pruſſia—which," continues his lordſhip, " is to ſay the leaſt very doubtful in point of fact—this, at leaſt, is certain, that his majeſty was no party to ſuch treaty, and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been apprized of its contents."

The next conference between lord Malmeſbury and the French commiſſioners took place on the 23d of July. The French plenipotentiaries, after hearkening with great patience to the long harangue of the ambaſſador, founded on the letter of lord Grenville, engaged that a correct report of what he ſaid ſhould be tranſmitted forthwith to the Directory; and they readily allowed the equity of the propoſition, either to accede to the *projet* offered by him, or to bring forward one of their own. But they aſſerted, " that as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition now ſo decidedly rejected, it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the Directory." A paper was, at the requeſt of the commiſſioners,

ſioners, put into their hands by lord Malmeſbury, ſtating, in mild language, the unreaſonableneſs of the demand made by the Directory, and the impoſſibility of complying with it. This was a great political error; for the commiſſioners had already admitted the unreaſonableneſs of the demand, in the ſenſe ſo juſtly offenſive to the court of London; and had it been complied with in the ſenſe of the commiſſioners, the obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the farther progreſs of the negotiation would have been at once removed, and no poſſible inconvenience could have reſulted from the conceſſion.

The paper in queſtion being tranſmitted by the commiſſioners to the Directory, with their own report of the conference, an interval of no leſs than fourteen days paſſed over in ſilence. At length, on the 6th of Auguſt, the commiſſioners informed lord Malmeſbury, that they had received letters from Paris, informing them, that the Directory had taken the ſubject into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would acquaint them as ſoon as poſſible with the reſult. On lord Malmeſbury's intimating how impoſſible it was that his Britannic majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, one of them ſaid, "You ought to augur favorably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the Directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine qua non*.—If the Directory were determined to perſiſt in this *ſine qua non*, they would have ſaid ſo at once. The time they take to deliberate, indicates, beyond a doubt, that they are looking for ſome temperament."

On the 12th of Auguſt, lord Malmeſbury again expreſſed to the commiſſioners his chagrin, "that day after day ſhould paſs without making a progreſs in the buſineſs for which they were met, and that it was material to make good the time they had loſt." The commiſſioners, in reply, declared, "that he would not think it time loſt if he knew how it was applied.—We will not ſcruple to tell you, ſaid one of them,

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them, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated, that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, in a certain degree, to meet your propoſals."

On the 28th of Auguſt, the French plenipotentiaries informed lord Malmeſbury, "that the laſt anſwer from Holland was ſo unſatisfactory, that the Directory had ordered it to be referred to the Dutch government for explanation, which would induce ſome longer delay."

On the 4th of September, the important event known by the name of the revolution of Fructidor took place in Paris; and on the 11th of September the whole French legation was recalled, and the citizens Treilhard and Bonnier appointed in their room, who arrived on the 13th. M. le Tourneur and his colleagues made, on parting, handſome compliments to lord Malmeſbury, on the *loyauté et franchiſe* with which he had acted during the whole of the negotiation. And it muſt be allowed that the language uſed by this ambaſſador, both in ſpeaking and writing, was uniformly mild and temperate; as his manners were alſo polite and pleaſing. His general deportment was open and honorable, and no juſt ſuſpicion of deceit can, on this occaſion at leaſt, attach either to his character or miſſion. He was deficient only in that ſuperiority of diſcernment, and intellectual comprehenſion, which, in circumſtances ſo new and critical, were eſſentially requiſite to the ends of his appointment—in that conſummate addreſs which can ſolve or ſever every difficulty, in order to attain the purpoſe it had in view.

In the very firſt conference held by lord Malmeſbury with the new plenipotentiaries, September 14, it was (ſays his lordſhip), declared by them "to be a conſideration of primary importance, in every negotiation, to aſcertain the extent of the powers with which the negotiators are veſted; that he would find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it

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was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equally ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was, to enquire whether I was authorized to treat on the principles of a general reſtitution.' Lord Malmeſbury expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the repetition of this demand, and attempted, as in the former inſtance, to ſhew the extreme unreaſonableneſs of it, and how inevitably it muſt, if inſiſted upon, preclude all diſcuſſion or negotiation whatever. What lord Malmeſbury ſubjoins on this head is very remarkable: "I ſhall not," ſays his lordſhip, "attempt to follow the French miniſter through the very elaborate, and certainly able, ſpeech he made in reply, with the view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the ſtrongeſt proof the Directory could furniſh of their pacific intention, and the ſhorteſt road they could take to accompliſh the deſired end. It was in order to give activity in the negotiation—*activer* was his word—and to prevent its ſtagnating, that this demand was made ſo ſpecifically; and he intimated to me that it was impoſſible for the directory to proceed till a full and ſatisfactory anſwer had been given to it. The avowal of having powers to a certain extent," he ſaid, "did not imply the neceſſity of exerciſ them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take;—that the note and the time preſcribed in it were in conſequence of the moſt poſitive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a concluſion different from the aſſurances they had made in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference."

It is really aſtoniſhing that, after M. Treilhard had ſo clearly explained the nature of the demand, lord Malmeſbury ſhould ſtill, in his reply, inſiſt "that their queſtion went not to the extent of his full powers, but to require of him the nature of his inſtructions.---The French miniſter," ſays his lordſhip, "ſtrove to prove to me, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the diſcretionary authority

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rity confided in the miniſter by no means implied an intention to act up to its utmoſt limits: and he ſubjoined, 'in drawing up your anſwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have uſed, or, in your report to your court, the aſſurances we have given of the earneſt wiſh of the Directory to terminate the war." And both plenipotentiaries—perhaps concerned that, by the order of their government, they were compelled to ſtand upon this *étiquette*—were moſt warm in their proteſtations that nothing could be leſs hoſtile than the ſpirit of their commiſſion, and that the idea of this negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as their wiſhes. At length the conference broke up without any favorable impreſſion made upon the mind of the Engliſh miniſter. An official note, containing the demand ſo obnoxious to the Engliſh court, was immediately tranſmitted to lord Malmeſbury; to which his lordſhip anſwered, "that he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compenſations." On the next day (September 16), another note arrived from the French commiſſioners, apprizing his lordſhip that a decree of the Directory had paſſed, ſignifying, "that in caſe lord Malmeſbury ſhall declare himſelf not to have the neceſſary powers for agreeing to all the reſtitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indiſpenſable, he ſhall be to return in four-and-twenty hours to his court, to aſk for ſufficient powers." To this lord Malmeſbury rejoined, "that he could return no other anſwer to a refuſal ſo abſolute to continue the negotiation, on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the neceſſary paſſports for himſelf and his ſuite."

The French commiſſioners, in reply, ſay "they think it right to obſerve to lord Malmeſbury, that he does not appear to have ſeized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refuſal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a ſucceſs no leſs deſirable

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to the two nations than it would be flattering to the miniſters charged with the conduct of them. The French government is ſo far from entertaining the intentions which the note of lord Malmeſbury appears to impute to them, that the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have received no order to quit Liſle after the departure of the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty."—The Engliſh ambaſſador, in his anſwer (September 17), to this obſervation, ſtill perſiſts in his unfortunate *blunder*,—for it deſerves no ſofter appellation,—and again repeats what had been a hundred times before ſaid, and as often refuted, "that the queſtion between them, in appearance, relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers, which are in the moſt ample form; but does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions."—This fatal miſtake was the more remarkable, as M. Treilhard had taken infinite pains to demonſtrate to him the difference between theſe two things; and had expreſsly ſaid, and reiterated, that they did not mean to enquire into his inſtructions; and in the moſt intelligible manner intimated that they did not expect him to act up to the extent of his powers.

Lord Malmeſbury deſiring one other meeting previous to his departure, a conference for the laſt time took place on the 17th at noon. Nothing however paſſed at this conference, but a tireſome repetition of the former arguments, and renewed proteſtations from the French commiſſioners, "that the intention of the Directory was to accelerate peace, by removing every obſtacle to its attainment."—From a particular expreſſion dropped by lord Malmeſbury, nevertheleſs, in this conference, it appears ſufficiently evident, that his powers were not of the full and ample nature required by the Directory: for he tells us, "that he dwelt particularly and repeatedly on his own competency to take any thing ſaid by the French commiſſioners for REFERENCE." This was the very evil which the Directory meant to avoid, and which had occaſioned ſo much delay and difficulty in

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the former negotiation at Paris. And one of the commiſſioners remarked upon it, "that the full powers which authorized a miniſter to *hear* propoſals were widely from thoſe which would enable him to *accede* to them, and that it was ſuch full powers that the Directory required him to ſolicit."* The ambaſſador, equally unable and unwilling to give ſatisfaction to the French commiſſioners as to this demand, ſet off from Liſle the next morning, on his return to England.

From the pertinacious manner in which the French government perſiſted in this demand, it is eaſy to infer the extreme diſtruſt which the Directory entertained of the ultimate purpoſes of England. Some ſacrifices were inevitable on the part of the allies; but the reluctance of the Dutch to part with their favorite ſettlements of the Cape and Ceylon was extreme; and if the powers of the Engliſh ambaſſador were limited as to the grand article of reſtitution, all the addreſs of the French negotiators to obtain more favorable conditions for Holland muſt have been altogether unavailing. Inſtructions admitted of much greater latitude, and would be much more eaſily varied, according to circumſtances: and the Directory were unwilling to urge upon the Dutch government the neceſſity of conceſſion, till they had ſome clear proofs of the conciliatory diſpoſition, as well as of the ſincerity, of the Engliſh court, which had ſo obſtinately reſiſted the preliminary demands of France. Such at leaſt is the moſt probable ſolution of the directorial policy, as diſplayed in the courſe of this momentous tranſaction.

The

* Lord Bolingbroke, in a letter to the duke of Shrewſbury, May 29, 1713, ſays—"I obſerved to count Gyllenburg, that the Swediſh miniſters, who ſhould be appointed to treat, ſhould be furniſhed with ABSOLUTE POWERS. I convinced him that theſe would draw into no conſequence which the king needed to apprehend; ſince, by private inſtructions to his miniſters, he might direct them to make what uſe he ſhould think fit of the authority delegated to them."

BOLINGBROKE *Correſpondence*, Vol. II.

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The conduct of lord Malmeſbury was highly approved and applauded, as he had indeed a right to expect, by the court of London, from whom he received immediate orders, on his arrival in England, to open one other diſpatch to the commiſſioners at Liſle, conformably to the draft ſent him by lord Grenville. In this letter it was again prepoſterouſly aſſerted, "that the demand of the Directory refers not to the full powers of the ambaſſador, but to the extent of his inſtructions;—that it is therefore only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the *projet* preſented by the ambaſſador, or by returning a *contre-projet* of a conciliatory nature, that it appears poſſible to continue the negotiation."—The French plenipotentiaries, after the tranſmiſſion of this note to the French government, anſwer (October 1), "that when the Directory ordered its miniſters to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the Engliſh government to its ambaſſador, they had no other object than to bring the negotiation to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue;—that ſuch are STILL the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic not to quit Liſle till the continued abſence of the negotiator ſhall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic majeſty to break off all negotiation."

On the 5th of October this extraordinary correſpondence was terminated by a note from lord Malmeſbury to the French commiſſioners, written in terms of ſome aſperity; and declaring "that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only ſuſpended by its act.----With regard to the renewal of the conferences," continues the ambaſſador, "the under-ſigned can only refer to his laſt note, where he has explained, with frankneſs and preciſion, the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; obſerving, at the ſame time, that the king could no longer

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treat in an enemy's country without being certain that the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed amongſt all civilized nations, with regard to public miniſters, and eſpecially to thoſe charged to negotiate for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would be reſpected for the future in the perſon of his plenipotentiary."

Immediately after the termination of this unfortunate negotiation, a declaration was iſſued by the king of England, in which his majeſty was ſo ill adviſed to aſſert, and ſuch was no doubt his indignant belief, "that France had not ſcrupled to demand the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valor of his fleets and armies have conquered during the preſent war: nor was even this demand brought forward as conſtituting the terms of peace, but as the price of negotiation, as the condition on which alone his majeſty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honor and ſafety were to lead."*

In

* "To any other ambaſſador than lord Malmeſbury," ſays the very able author of the 'QUESTION STATED' (p. 17), "the French probably would not have thought it neceſſary to put the queſtion, 'Whether he had, or had not, powers to treat on the principle of general reſtitution, &c.?' They had not forgotten, that, in his former embaſſy, 'at every communication he was in want of the advice of his court.'†—Lord Malmeſbury ſays, 'that their queſtion went not to the extent of his full powers, but to require of him to declare the nature of his inſtructions.' In the firſt place, he anſwers their queſtion in a ſenſe *materially* different from that which they attached to it: he then affirms, that the extent of his powers, and the nature of his inſtructions, are one and the ſame thing. But for this he aſſigns no reaſon; nor does he at all ſpecify or intimate what the inconvenience or diſadvantage would have been if he had given them a direct anſwer in the affirmative, which he might have done in the terms of lord Grenville's official note of the 17th of June; viz. 'That his full powers included *every* caſe, and gave him *the moſt unlimited authority* to conclude any articles, treaties, &c. or, in the very terms of their own demand, underſtand according to the explanation with which it was accompanied.—'If he had ſaid YES, the negotiation muſt have proceeded, and poſſibly might have ended with ſucceſs."

† *De la Croix, December* 19, 1796.

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In ſpeaking of the points which the plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conference with the Engliſh ambaſſador, his majeſty ſtyles them "at once frivolous and offenſive, none of them productive of any ſolid advantage to France, but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace." Doubtleſs all demands, juſt or unjuſt, made by an enemy in the courſe of any negotiation, may, in a general ſenſe, be regarded as raiſing new obſtacles in the way of peace. But how the requiſition of the French republic to the king of Great Britain, to deſiſt from the vain and fooliſh aſſumption of the title of King of France, could, in any rational ſenſe, be conſidered as offenſive, or even as frivolous, is not eaſy to divine; and ſtill leſs how the reſtoration of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or the renunciation of a mortgage on their revenues, ſhould not be productive of ſolid advantage to France.—The royal declaration concludes with the aſſertion, highly laudable in itſelf, and no leſs acceptable to the public, "that, though his majeſty's wiſhes and endeavours to reſtore peace to his ſubjects had proved fruitleſs, his ſentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may ſhew a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any way correſponding to his own."

Amid the civil commotions which agitated France at this period, the fathers of the Gallican church, who had conformed to the ſevere injunctions of the conſtitution on eccleſiaſtical points, had ventured once more to aſſemble, in order to deliberate on a mode or plan of conciliation, to repair and cement ſuch genuine parts of this ſacred edifice as had been ſhattered by the rude and ſavage hand of perſecuting power. The paſt and preſent ſtate of the church was laid before this venerable body. Amongſt other lamentable inſtances of apoſtacy were mentioned the marriages of twelve biſhops; twelve others had abdicated their ſeats; eight had periſhed on the ſcaffold; one, the biſhop

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of Dol, who had acted in a military capacity, had been ſhot as a rebel;"* and of the emigrant biſhops forty had died in foreign countries. After attempting to re-organize the adminiſtration of the church, the next ſolicitude of theſe biſhops was to call back their brethren who had wandered from the fold. The general anſwers given by the incivic clergy were compriſed in a few words; ſuch as "wolves," "forſwearers," "intruders," "robbers," "heretics," "ſciſmatics," according to the report of Grégoire, conſtitutional biſhop of Blois, who alone, as he declares, had the patience to read over the enormous collection of three thouſand pacquets laid before the ſynod.

The firſt acts of this council were, the publication of a ſynodical letter to the paſtors and to the faithful, on the means of eſtabliſhing religious peace; and another addreſſed to the biſhops and prieſts reſident in France, who had ſeparated from the national communion. It was propoſed that a general oblivion ſhould cover all former diſſenſions, and that the acknowledged tenets of the Chriſtian church ſhould alone be the preſcribed articles of belief, whatever might have been their opinions on the queſtions which had divided the church of France. Amongſt theſe articles the council numbered the grand poſitions;---that the Pope is the viſible head of the church on earth; that he poſſeſſes thereby the primacy of honor and juriſdiction; and that all Chriſtians are bound implicitly to receive the dogmas promulgated by the catholic and univerſal church, and to condemn all the errors which it has proſcribed.

Although the French government did not, and, according to the acknowledged principles of toleration, could not, interpoſe to prevent the deliberations and acts of an aſſembly which cautiouſly reſtrained its proceedings within the limits of

* Had the biſhop of Dol been reclaimed as a ſon of the church by the father of the faithful, his coat of mail might, agreeably to a famous hiſtorical anecdote, have been tranſmitted to the holy pontiff with the queſtion ſubjoined, "Say whether this be thy ſon's coat or no?"

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of the law and conſtitution, they regarded nevertheleſs thoſe proceedings with a jealous eye; and, with a view of counter-acting the latent fanaticiſm of the vulgar religion, the Directory gave great encouragement to a new ſect, recently eſtabliſhed under the name of Theophilanthropiſts; one of the members of the directorial board, La Réveillière Lepaux, declaring himſelf openly a patron and protector of it. Theſe religioniſts, rejecting all revelation, confined their worſhip to one ſupreme being: and, gradually increaſing in number, they at length took poſſeſſion, by permiſſion of the municipalities, of very many of the public churches —occupied, alſo, at other hours of the ſame day, by the Catholics: and the offering of the wheaten ear and the *bouquet* of flowers to the divinity, as preſcribed by the elegant though already ſuperſtitious ritual of the new ſect, was preceded, or followed, by the myſtic and ſumptuous rites of the Romiſh church.

From the period of the ſignature of the preliminaries of Leoben, general Buonaparte had been deeply engaged in regulating the interior or political concerns of Italy. Conferences had long ſince been opened at the village of Campo Formio, near Udina, with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, with a view to a definitive treaty, which was at length concluded on the 17th of October, 1797. By the terms of this treaty the former preliminary articles were confirmed, but with the addition of a new one, which excited great aſtoniſhment and indignation in Europe. This was the ceſſion, by France, to his Imperial majeſty of the city of Venice, and the whole of the Venetian territory eaſtward of the Adige; and a line paſſing through the Lake de' Guarda, including that part of Iſtria, Dalmatia, &c. formerly belonging to the Venetian republic:—the valuable iſlands in the Levant, Corfu, Zante, Cephalenia, &c. being allotted, in this diviſion of ſpoils, to France. Thoſe who were attached to the antient *régime* were exaſperated at the diſſolution of the regular and long-eſtabliſhed government

ment of Venice, and ſcandalized at the facility and even eagerneſs with which the emperor, who had entered into the war as the champion of civil and ſocial order, and the defender of the political relations of Europe againſt the common deſtroyer, graſped at his ſhare of the golden ſpoil This was a tranſaction which admitted of no gloſs, and exhibited itſelf to the perception of all as an act of unprincipled and profligate rapacity.*—On the other hand, France had made voluntary and prodigal profeſſions of protection and fraternity to all thoſe nations which ſuffered under oppreſſion, and were deſirous to embrace the bleſſings of liberty. Inſtead of acting in a manner correſpondent to her profeſſions, and re-conſtructing the fallen government of the Venetians on principles of juſtice and equity, ſhe now treacherouſly transferred to the Auſtrian deſpotiſm a people over whom ſhe poſſeſſed no other right or power excepting that which always appertains to the ſtrongeſt. The Venetians themſelves were ſtruck with conſternation at this unlooked-for proceeding. Not only had the inhabitants of the Venetian ſtates indulged the idea of exchanging their oligarchical regimen for the bleſſings of a free government, but they had actually named, under the ſanction of the French general, in almoſt every commune, proviſionary authorities, and taken every ſtep for the formation of a republic founded on equal rights. It was therefore with burſts of indignation and deſpair that they heard of that article of the definitive treaty which conſigned them to Auſtria; and it was ſaid that general Buonaparte himſelf yielded with great reluctance to the ſacrifice, and only in

* "The coaleſced powers," ſays Mr. Burke, "were eaſily taught to ſlide back into their old habitual ſchool of politics, and to conſider the flames that were conſuming France as an happy occaſion for pillaging the goods, and carrying off the materials, of their neighbour's houſe."

'Regicide Peace.'

To accuſe the coaleſced powers of *ſliding back* into their old habits ſeems unjuſt—it does not appear that they ever relinquiſhed them.

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in obedience to the positive orders of the Directory, who could not be supposed regardful of those sacred rights in other communities which they had with unhallowed and parricidal hands well-nigh extinguished in their own.

By a secret but important article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the archbishopric of Saltzburg, with some adjoining districts of Bavaria, making the river Inn the boundary on that side of the Austrian territory, was also allotted to the emperor;—all which tract of country, as well as his Venetian acquisitions, were so conveniently situated, and coalesced so well with the general mass of the Imperial dominions, as to form much more than a compensation for the remote and insulated provinces which he had lost.

The treaty of Campo Formio being concluded with the emperor only, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the empire with the French republic was referred to a congress to be held at Rastadt. The organization of the new Cisalpine republic, agreeably to the model of France, was by this time completed, and all places of trust and dignity filled according to the *recommendation* of general Buonaparte, who made, at the instalment of the executive government, an able and eloquent speech, exhorting them, "now they had attained to liberty, to conduct themselves in such a manner as to become worthy of their high destiny, in making only wise and moderate laws, and executing them with force and energy, by favoring the diffusion of knowledge, and respecting the rights of conscience." The new and friendless monarch of Sardinia was still left in nominal possession of Piedmont, at the price of entering into a strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with France.—At the latter end of November general Buonaparte left Italy; and, taking his journey through Berne and Rastadt, receiving everywhere the highest honors, this extraordinary personage arrived at Paris near the end of the year, leaving the commissioners, Treilhard and Bonnier,

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Bonnier, to repreſent the republic in the congreſs, which was to open on the 1ſt of January enſuing (A. D. 1798).

The ratification by the Directory of the treaty of Udina, or Campo-Formio, as it was more uſually ſtyled, was followed by a proclamation addreſſed to the armies, in which it was obſerved, "that although ſo much had been done, ſo many kings conquered, ſo many people ſet free, and the republic itſelf eſtabliſhed by the valor of its arms, yet the country expected one more ſacrifice; ſince the enemy, who had been the original cauſe of all the horrors and miſeries which they had ſuffered, both from foreign and civil war, remained yet to be cruſhed; and that the ſafety of the republic was endangered whilſt the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT exiſted." This declaration was followed by two reſolutions: 1ſt, That an army ſhould be immediately aſſembled on the coaſts of the Channel, under the name of the Army of England; and, 2dly, That general Buonaparte ſhould be appointed the commander-in-chief.

On the injudicious recall of Mr. Monroe, the American ambaſſador, from France, the Directory refuſed to receive the credentials of Mr. Pinckney, his ſucceſſor, until their grievances were redreſſed; and in the month of January, 1797, that miniſter received formal notice to quit the territory of the republic; in conſequence of which order he accordingly retired to Amſterdam. At the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion of the congreſs at Philadelphia, in the ſpring of 1797, the new preſident, Mr. Adams, declared it "to be his ſincere deſire to preſerve peace and friendſhip with all nations; and that, believing neither the honor nor the intereſt of the United States abſolutely to forbid the repetition of advances for ſecuring theſe deſirable objects with France, he ſhould inſtitute a freſh attempt at negotiation." Three commiſſioners were named for the purpoſe—Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Gerry being joined with general Pinckney. Theſe gentlemen were allowed to remain quietly at Paris, but could make little or no progreſs towards

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wards an accommodation of differences. The ſpirit of intrigue, extravagance, and corruption, at this period, pervaded every branch of the directorial government, which was diſtinguiſhed only by its tyranny, its imbecility, and rapacity. After the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, ſcarcely did this government deign to attempt the concealment of its vices. At a conference, held by the commiſſioners in the month of October (1797), with a confidential friend and agent of the miniſter of foreign relations, Talleyrand, that perſon expatiated largely on the animoſity diſcovered by the American preſident, in his ſpeech to the congreſs, againſt the French republic—and on the keen reſentment which it had excited in France; ſaying, that ſatisfaction was indiſpenſably neceſſary previous to negotiation: "But," ſaid he, "gentlemen, I will not diſguiſe from you, that, this ſatisfaction being made, the eſſential part of the treaty remains to be adjuſted—*Il faut de l'argent, il faut beaucoup de l'argent.*"—He affirmed, "that the Directory were jealous of their *own* honor; jealous of the honor of the NATION; and this honor muſt be maintained, unleſs we ſubſtituted, in place of the reparations demanded, ſomething perhaps more valuable—*that was* MONEY! There were to the amount of 32 millions of florins of Dutch inſcriptions, which, if the commiſſioners would engage to take as a ſecurity for a loan to the ſame amount, it would be a great accommodation. There ſhall," ſaid he, "be firſt taken from the loan certain ſums for the purpoſe of making the cuſtomary diſtributions in diplomatic affairs. This ſum, according to diplomatic uſage, he eſtimated at about 1,200,000 livres." The commiſſioners replied, "that the American government would have ſuppoſed ſuch a propoſition, if made by them, would have given mortal offence." He aſked, ſay the commiſſioners in their official account of this conference, "if our government did not know that nothing was to be obtained here without money?" The commiſſioners anſwered, "that ſuch a ſtate of things was

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not even ſuſpected." He appeared ſurpriſed at it, and ſaid, "there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information."* The commiſſioners refuſing with diſdain theſe ignominious conditions of peace, the negotiation remained entirely ſuſpended: and the preſident, Mr. Adams, in a meſſage to the congreſs (March 1798), with good reaſon declared, "that he perceived no ground of expectation that the objects of their miſſion could be accompliſhed on terms compatible with the ſafety, honor, or the eſſential intereſts of the nation."

M. d'Aranjo, ambaſſador from Portugal at Paris, had been this ſummer employed in negotiating a ſeparate peace, and had actually concluded a treaty on the 10th of Auguſt, which was to be ratified in two months,—a period which was, no doubt, by the court of Liſbon deemed ſufficient to determine the iſſue of the negotiation depending between France and England. The negotiation breaking off, and the treaty conſequently not being ratified, it was declared by the Directory null and void, and M. d'Aranjo ordered to quit the territories of the republic. But lingering, probably for ſome purpoſe of political intrigue, beyond the time ſpecified in the order, he was, by an extraordinary ſtretch of power, committed priſoner to the Temple; whence, however, he was releaſed, after no long interval of confinement or ſufferance.

In the courſe of the preſent year died the celebrated Daniſh miniſter, count Bernſtorf, deeply lamented by his countrymen, and all the friends of peace and humanity throughout Europe. Diligent and indefatigable in buſineſs, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expreſſing his ideas. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleaſure, firm, ſagacious, beneficent—never was any ſtateſman more univerſally admired and revered. Eaſy of acceſs, ſimple in his manners, with a temper always equal, communicative, and affable—never was any man in his individual

* Vide "Official Narrative of the Commiſſioners."

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vidual capacity more eſteemed and beloved. The affranchiſement of the Daniſh peaſants, the abolition of the negro trade, the acquiſition of Holſtein, and the calm wiſdom with which he ſteered the veſſel of the ſtate amid the ſtorms and tempeſts which agitated Europe for the laſt ſeven eventful years of revolution and war, will render his adminiſtration for ever memorable in Denmark.

In the month of November this year a perſonage of a very different deſcription, Frederic-William II. king of Pruſſia, departed this life. During his reign, which laſted eleven years, Pruſſia maintained her full influence as a political power in Europe; though his ability for government did not riſe above the royal accompliſhment of KING-CRAFT, or what is in other men ſtyled *cunning*. The fabric of Pruſſian greatneſs had indeed been conſtructed with a maſter-hand; nor were the ſame talents requiſite for maintaining as for erecting the edifice. His general conduct participated more of the rapacity of a robber than the ardor of a hero—all was mean, ſelfiſh, and contracted; nor can the neareſt view detect one virtue to mitigate the horror with which every honeſt man muſt contemplate the conſpirator of Pilnitz and the plunderer of Poland.

Since the commencement of the preſent war, a proclamation had iſſued every year for the obſervance of a FAST; and a ſervice compoſed for the occaſion by the biſhops was ordered to be read in the churches—many of the offices contained in which were by ſome thought rather calculated to inflame the minds of the ignorant multitude againſt the enemy, than to impreſs upon them ſentiments of penitence, devotion, or humanity; and the general ſtrain of them better adapted to the character of prieſts of MOLOCH than of CHRIST.—"We proſtrate ourſelves before thee"—ſuch is the language of the firſt morning collect of this pious ritual—"in earneſt prayer and ſupplication, in behalf of ourſelves and other Chriſtian nations, expoſed at this time to the cruelty or groaning under the oppreſſion of apoſtates

apoſtates from thy truth, and deſpiſers of thy holy name, who have ſpread deſolation wherever they have erected their ſtandard."---And in a certain form of words called A PRAYER for our ENEMIES! we find the following meek and benevolent expreſſions:—" Suffer us, we beſeech thee, in the ſpirit of Chriſtian charity, to offer our humble interceſſions for the repentance and converſion of men who have caſt off their faith in thee the living GOD, and, following the vain imaginations of reprobate minds, have plunged themſelves into crimes and impieties which aſtoniſh the Chriſtian world.---Open their eyes, O LORD!---Strike them, in thy mercy, with remorſe and compunction," &c. &c.

At the end of the preſent year, Providence having declared ſo openly and decidedly in our favor by the late naval victories, it was determined by his majeſty to go, attended by the two houſes of parliament, and the great officers of ſtate (December 19), in religious and triumphal proceſſion, to the cathedral of St. Paul, in order to offer up a public and national thankſgiving for the ſame. The flags and colours taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, accompanied with bands of muſic, &c. were borne in ſolemn pomp to the cathedral, and depoſited with holy exultation upon the altar. After which a ſermon was preached by the lord biſhop of Lincoln, fraught with ſuch ſentiments of ſelf-abaſement, contrition, and humanity, as the following:—" Where will be found ſuch ſtrict adherence to public faith, ſuch impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, ſuch fidelity in the concerns of private life, ſuch liberal attention to the poor, ſuch kindneſs to the ſtranger, ſuch generoſity to the priſoner, as in this country? While our enemies have inſulted the MAJESTY of HEAVEN, WE have HUMBLED ourſelves before GOD, and ACKNOWLEDGED our TRANSGRESSIONS.—While THEY have impiouſly denied his all-controling power, WE have prayed unto the Lord to give wiſdom to our councils, ſucceſs to our arms, and ſteadineſs to our people, and he has heard us!—The banners which you have this day ſeen preſented

preſented at the altar of this cathedral-church of the metropolis, as the moſt public teſtimony of DEVOUT and HUMBLE gratitude to the Supreme Diſpoſer of Events, are not the trophies of a ſingle victory over one enemy, but of a ſeries of victories equally brilliant and important over the three nations of Europe moſt diſtinguiſhed for their maritime power.—Our naval ſtrength, raiſed to an height unknown at any former period, not only exceeds that of every rival neighbour, but has compelled each, in his turn, to ſubmit to our ſuperiority."*

Bowing with reverential awe to the grand religious and philoſophical concluſion, that an inviſible and incomprehenſible Power, the firſt and ſole cauſe of all things, exiſting from eternity, filling immenſity, and infinite in all perfections, does not diſdain, from the ſublime elevation of his heavenly throne, to caſt his view upon this lower world, and account it no derogation from his ineffable dignity to contemplate the miſerable contentions of the frail and erring race of man,—ſurely ſo tranſcendently-excellent a Being muſt regard with diſpleaſure whatever has a tendency to diſturb the moral order, happineſs, and harmony, of his creation;—and wars of pride, ambition, and revenge, whether ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, muſt equally excite the divine anger and indignation,—more eſpecially when they profanely and impudently aſſume the name of Wars of Juſtice, neceſſity,

* The paſſionate deſire of the court, and of the clergy connected with the court, to repreſent the preſent war as a war of religion is very remarkable. The cauſe of religion, it has been well obſerved, is a modern motive of war, invented by the chriſtian prieſthood refining upon the Heathen. The extreme callouſneſs of the higher order of the clergy, in general, to the miſeries of mankind, is indeed a ſtriking feature of the profeſſion. Wholly abſorbed in the exalted feelings of devotion, they riſe far ſuperior to thoſe of humanity. Who can forget that, to the very lateſt period of the American conteſt, the venerable Shipley only, of the twenty-ſix Engliſh biſhops, gave his vote againſt the court: and that the liberal and enlightened Watſon alone in the preſent times, half fearful and half aſhamed, ventured an opinion againſt the French cruſade?

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ceſſity, and religion---with vain and gaudy pageantry invoking his Almighty name, and boaſting the ſanction of his ſacred and ſupreme authority.

> " Can I be flatter'd with thy cringing bows,
> Thy ſolemn chatterings, and fantaſtic vows?
> Are my eyes charm'd thy veſtments to behold,
> Glaring in gems, and gay in woven gold?
> Unthinking wretch! how could'ſt thou hope to pleaſe
> A GOD, a SPIRIT, with ſuch toys as theſe!"

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BOOK XVIII.

Seſſion of Parliament 1797-8. *Seceſſion of the Majority of the Members in Oppoſition. Debates on the Addreſs. Papers relative to the Negotiation at Liſle laid before Parliament. Conduct of Miniſters approved. Warlike Ardor of the Nation revives. Reſtrictions upon the Bank continued. Annual Statement of Finance. Triple aſſeſſment impoſed. Defective Plan for the Redemption of the Land-Tax. Voluntary Contributions to the War. Invaſion threatened by France. Vigorous Preparations for the National Defence. Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney. Motion of Mr. Wilberforce for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. Addreſs to the Throne moved by the Duke of Bedford. Debates on the State of Ireland. Twelve Regiments of Engliſh Militia ſent to Ireland. Patriotic Spirit diſplayed by the Britiſh Nation. Affairs of Ireland inveſtigated. Iriſh Catholics engage in a criminal Intercourſe with France. Dreadful Situation of the Kingdom. Conciliatory Propoſition of the Earl of Moira. Progreſs of the Iriſh Conſpiracy. Trial of Arthur O'Connor. Arreſt of the Iriſh Directory. Rebellion in Ireland. Rebels defeated at New Roſs—And at Enniſcorthy. Earl Cornwallis appointed Chief Governor. Rebellion ſuppreſſed in the South. Extreme Bigotry of the Iriſh Catholics. Rebellion ſuppreſſed in the North. Civil and Judicial Proceedings. French Force lands in the Bay of Killala. Rebellion in the Weſt---Suppreſſed by Lord Cornwallis. Surrender of the French. Naval Victory gained by Sir J. B. Warren on the Coaſt of Ulſter. Miſcellaneous Tranſactions on the Continent. Inſurrection at Rome. Death of General Duphot. Subverſion of the Papal Government. Re-eſtabliſhment of the Roman Republic. Affairs in Switzerland—Hoſtile Demands of the French Directory—Invaſion of the French under General Brune—Patriotic Reſiſtance of the Democratic*

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Cantons---Reduction of Switzerland by the French. State of Affairs in France. Election of Treilhard as a Member of the Directory. Incapacity and Oppreſſion of the Directorial Government. Affairs of Holland—Partial Change in the Government. Diſaſtrous Expedition of the Engliſh, under General Coote, to Oſtend. Iſland of Minorca captured. Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo, evacuated by the Engliſh. Domeſtic Occurrences. Mr. Fox ſtruck out of the Liſt of Privy Counſellors. Proſecution of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. Invaſion of Egypt under General Buonaparte. Victory of the Pyramids. Capture of Grand Cairo. Total Defeat of the French Fleet by Admiral Nelſon at Aboukir.—Extraordinary Effects reſulting from that Event. Proceedings of the Congreſs at Raſtadt. Revival of the War in Germany and in Italy. Neapolitan Army enters Rome. Defeat of the Neapolitans. Capua ſurrenders to the French. Naples taken by Storm. Subverſion of the Regal Government. Treaty between Great Britain and Ruſſia. Wiſe Conduct of the King of Pruſſia.

THE parliament met on the 2d of November, 1797. His majeſty expreſſed his confidence, "that the papers laid before the two houſes would prove, to them and to the world, that every ſtep had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the concluſion of peace: and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are ſolely to be aſcribed to the evaſive conduct, the unwarrantable pretenſions, and the inordinate ambition of thoſe with whom we have to contend; and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms." At the concluſion of the ſpeech, however, his majeſty, after exhorting the two houſes to the moſt animated exertions, declared "that he retained an ardent deſire for the concluſion of peace, on ſafe and honorable terms."

When the king's ſpeech came to be taken into conſideration by the commons, the houſe preſented a ſingular and melancholy appearance—the benches of oppoſition being in

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in a manner deſerted. Wearied and diſguſted with attending, year after year, merely to be out-voted in the houſe, and reviled with every expreſſion of contumely and reproach by the miniſterial hirelings out of the houſe, as the ſecret enemies of their country, who, from the moſt culpable motives, were employed in counter-acting the efforts of a wiſe and beneficent government in a criſis of public danger, —ſeeing no proſpect of awakening the nation to that deep and juſt ſenſe of their condition which was neceſſary in order to render them laſting and eſſential ſervice,—they determined, with few exceptions, to withdraw from the conteſt, and, ſince their counſel was rejected, not to perſiſt in a fatiguing, inceſſant, and fruitleſs oppoſition. Upon theſe grounds was the nation deprived of the benefit derivable from the clear underſtanding and accurate judgment of a GREY, of the impreſſive and animated effuſions of a WHITBREAD, of the keen penetration and brilliant eloquence of a SHERIDAN, and, above all, from the majeſtic and commanding genius of a FOX.

The addreſs moved by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle did not, however, paſs altogether unnoticed. Mr. Bryan Edwards, a name well known, and highly reſpected in the political and literary world, obſerved "that the preſent war had been attended with a waſte of wealth and prodigality of blood not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of human depravity. Two hundred millions of money had been the expenditure of four years, and not leſs than two hundred thouſand the lives that have been loſt. And what proſpect did the king's ſpeech hold out to us? Was it indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future? No; it menaced us with more carnage, more ſighs, more tears, and perhaps, deeper, of mothers, widows, and children. But had no efforts, it might be aſked, been made to obtain peace? No, none ſuitable to the occaſion, none founded in ſincerity, and breathing the genuine ſpirit of concord. The terms," he ſaid, "which the French would have granted at the firſt miſſion of lord

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Malmeſbury were ſuch as the miniſter would now gladly accept. He would then be ſatisfied with the reſtitution of Belgium; and the ſafety of England was ſacrificed to the intereſt of the emperor. As to the ſecond miſſion, it would have been, in his opinion, an happy circumſtance, if that noble lord had been empowered at the outſet to make the offer of reſtitution demanded by France. He conceived that the foreign territories poſſeſſed by Great Britain, previous to the war, fully ſufficed for every purpoſe both of commerce and ſecurity. At all events they were not of that value which would juſtify the hazard and loſs which we muſt ſuſtain by a farther proſecution of the war." Mr. Edwards concluded his ſpeech with lamenting the abſence of Mr. Fox, and expreſſing his fears leſt this diſtinguiſhed patriot had retired, oppreſſed with prophetic anguiſh, and deſpairing, under the preſent ſyſtem, of the ſalvation of the country.

Mr. Wilberforce acknowledged himſelf "far from participating in the poignant grief expreſſed for the abſence of Mr. Fox, except indeed it could be proved that his preſence could extricate the country from the difficulties in which it was involved. Every body knew that the nation was in a critical ſituation; and he ſhould therefore, for himſelf, purſue a line of conduct the reverſe of that adopted by Mr. Fox and his friends. He would punctually attend to the diſcharge of his duty, and, however diſcouraging the proſpect, would exert his beſt abilities to perform it from an inward ſenſe of right, not biaſſed by motives of *perſonal ambition*." Paſſing from this moſt malignant inſinuation to the motion before the houſe, he declared "the addreſs to be ſuch as all deſcriptions of gentlemen might conſent to, who were ſenſible of the bleſſings of our conſtitution. Miniſters were ſincerely ſolicitous for the reſtoration of peace, but were equally ready vigorouſly to proſecute the war, if the ambition and obſtinacy of the enemy reduced us to it. As Engliſhmen, we ſhould feel

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it our duty to ſtand at our poſt to the laſt; nor imitate the example of thoſe, who, under circumſtances of difficulty and danger, would puſillanimouſly deſert it."

Mr. Nichols aſked how long the calamities of war were to be endured by the people of Great Britain, for the ſake of ſecuring the Cape and Ceylon to the Eaſt-India Company? Whilſt our ears were ſtunned with public rejoicings for victories which availed little, our finances required the moſt ſerious attention. From July 1796, to July 1797, an addition of 2,600,000 *l.* appeared in the dividends of the three-per-cents. which was equal to an addition of eighty-ſeven millions and a half of capital. Miniſters had long been tried, and tried to no purpoſe; and we owed it as a duty to his majeſty, to recommend to him a change of them." The addreſs, after various other ſpeeches, was carried without a diviſion.

In the houſe of lords the marquis of Lanſdown diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an able and animated ſpeech, in which he entreated their lordſhips "to ſurrender up their prejudices, and conſider the danger of their ſituation. The reſtoration of peace was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country; and, if his majeſty would deign to enquire into the moſt likely method of obtaining it, every honeſt man would tell him it was by a change of miniſters. May we not with reaſon," argued his lordſhip, "ſuppoſe the Directory to ſay, 'We have convinced the powers on the continent of Europe of the folly of the cruſade they undertook againſt us. We have ſent armies into the field, whoſe victories have ſurpaſſed thoſe of ancient Rome. We are ſecure in the enjoyment of our liberties, and have enlarged the limits of our territory. One obſtinate nation only, under hot-headed councils, perſiſts in its attack upon us, charging us with every ſpecies of atrocity, and denouncing us to the world as the authors of a war which has deluged Europe in blood. This power is at length brought to embarraſſments which it can neither palliate nor conceal.

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It ſtands on a tottering baſe, and is ready to ſink under the violence of its own efforts. Shall we yield to this inſulated foe, who, even in aſking peace, means hoſtility?' Such, while the preſent miniſters guide the councils of the country," ſaid his lordſhip, " muſt be the feelings, and ſuch the language, of the French government. When lord Malmeſbury was firſt ſent to Paris, a hoſtile treaty was negotiating with Ruſſia. The ſecond negotiation at Liſle was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary inſurrection in the interior of France which produced the convulſion of the 4th of September, and in which they ſaid they diſcovered the hand of the Engliſh miniſter. The French government had openly aſſerted the fact: Did his majeſty's late declaration diſprove the charge? As to the terms of peace, his lordſhip ſaid that the Cape was an uſeleſs acquiſition, and Trincomale not worth retaining at the price of farther ſlaughter. We had gained the Eaſt without it; and to continue the war another campaign for the ſake of it would be to eſtimate its value at thirty millions. Let us," concluded his lordſhip, " endeavour to regain the good opinion of Europe, which we have loſt by our pride and rapacity; let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations; and, by thus recogniſing the commercial liberty of the world, we ſhould be the firſt to profit by it."

His lordſhip was ſupported by the duke of Norfolk, who declared his great diſſatisfaction with the terms of the addreſs, as he was far from being convinced " that every ſtep had been taken on his majeſty's part to accelerate peace," and no papers had been laid before them to juſtify ſuch an aſſertion. His grace therefore moved an amendment, which was over-ruled; and the addreſs, as originally moved by the earl of Glaſgow, paſſed without a diviſion.

On the 10th of November, the papers relative to the late negotiation being taken into conſideration by the commons, and an addreſs of thanks and approbation moved, ſir John

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John Sinclair obſerved, " that the charges brought againſt the government of France in the preſent addreſs, and the late royal declaration, were not juſtified by the papers laid before the houſe. It was affirmed in the declaration, that the preliminary demands of France were frivolous and offenſive; but to this, on referring to the demands themſelves, he could not accede. It was farther ſtated, that it was not the wiſh of the French government to make peace; whereas the French plenipotentiaries had expreſſed the wiſhes of the Directory in the ſtrongeſt terms, and, as lord Malmeſbury acknowledged, had exerted themſelves ably to prove that the propoſition which had given ſo much offence was by no means inconſiſtent with their profeſſions. France," he ſaid, " was inveterate againſt us, becauſe we ſhewed ourſelves inveterate againſt her; and the Directory might poſſibly entertain a deſign to overturn our government, becauſe we had endeavoured to overturn theirs. To prevent the perpetuation of theſe ſentiments, he moved an amendment, expreſſive of the reſolution of that houſe to ſupport his majeſty in the war, to expunge the words denoting an inveterate animoſity, and to declare that, whenever France was diſpoſed to treat on reaſonable terms, we would not refuſe to negotiate."

The chancellor of the Exchequer expreſſed his concern and diſappointment that the opinion of the houſe ſhould not, on this occaſion, be unanimous, and pretended much ſurpriſe at the propoſed amendment of the honorable baronet. " The continuance of the war," he ſaid, " was to be ſolely aſcribed to the implacable animoſity, to the inſatiable ambition, to the unwarrantable pretenſions, of the preſent frantic government of France. To them, not to us, were the guilt and the reſponſibility of future extremities to be imputed. Miniſters had exerted every effort to procure peace; and, from the commencement of the negotiation to its final rupture, the whole of the intermediate delay was owing to the evaſive conduct of France. Sincerity

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cerity of miniſters," Mr. Pitt ſaid, "was fully proved by the conceſſions which they had declared themſelves willing to make, and the ſacrifices which they offered. For what were theſe ſacrifices made? For peace. To whom were theſe ſacrifices offered? To an enemy whoſe forces had never ſeparately met the military ſtrength without adding to our national glory and renown—An enemy, whoſe commerce was extinguiſhed, whoſe navy was annihilated, whoſe financial diſtreſs, however palliated by their *partizans* here, was loudly proved in the groans, in the contentions of the councils, in the acts of directorial violence. On reviewing the ſtate of the two countries, let the world judge the value of the conceſſions on one part, and the force of the claim upon the other. Compare the mutual means of offence and reſiſtance,—the power of the French to take from us, and the ability of this country to retain,—and, upon that compariſon, decide whether the *projet* of his majeſty did not manifeſt proofs of ſincerity and moderation. But to this diſplay of ſincerity and moderation the arrogance and duplicity of the French afforded a complete contraſt. Endleſs delays enſued; and they required that we, whom they had ſummoned to treat for a definitive treaty, ſhould ſtop and diſcuſs preliminary points—inſiſting that his majeſty ſhould reſign the title of King of France, a *harmleſs feather*, at leaſt, which his anceſtors had for centuries worn in their crowns.* They demanded a reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or a compenſation; and a renunciation of any mortgage which this country might poſſeſs for the loan to the emperor. The French plenipotentiaries were immediately informed, that this country preferred no ſuch claim, and that the conceſſion was needleſs.

"We

* But, amidſt the aſſemblage of diamonds, pearls, and rubies, which compoſed his majeſty's crown, why ſhould he be ſolicitous to retain a trumpery *feather*,—a feather, too, which, however worthleſs, did not rightfully appertain to him; and which, as a cauſe of irritation, and a mark of inſult, was by no means, what Mr. Pitt ſtyled it, "an harmleſs feather."

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« We next were called upon to ſubſcribe, as a preliminary, that we were prepared to give up every thing we had acquired during the war. Such a preliminary could not be admitted by any man who was not diſpoſed to adore the idol of the French power in proſtrate baſeneſs. His majeſty did not heſitate in refuſing to comply with ſuch inſolent demands.

« The Directory, however, did not then adhere to the extravagance of them: a long delay, to amuſe their people, took place. They pleaded it as a proof of the ſincerity of their pacific intentions, and pretended that they were under the neceſſity of ſending to their allies an account of what paſſed; that they were endeavouring to prevail upon them to put an end to the calamities of a war into which they had brought thoſe allies, and who have ever ſince been in a ſtate of abject ſubjection to them, whatever importance they affected to give them in this negotiation. They then directed their plenipotentiaries to inform lord Malmeſbury, that they had obtained an anſwer, but it was not ſatisfactory, and they were obliged to ſend another meſſenger.

« It was thus they concealed their inſincerity till the dreadful cataſtrophe of the 4th of September: and even ſome days after that violence broke out in Paris they promiſed to produce their *projet*—ſtill pacific in their profeſſions, and inimical in their deſigns. The ſtep which they took after this laſt aſſurance was to renew, in a more offenſive form, the demand which had been rejected by lord Malmeſbury two months before, in which rejection they had acquieſced, and we, in the interval, had been waiting for the propoſals which were to come from them. He would leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a negotiation in which it was a preliminary to reſign every thing.*

« But

* Upon this extraordinary ſtatement of the Engliſh miniſter it is ſufficient to remark, that the Directory never receded, or, in all probability, meant

"But it is essential," said Mr. Pitt, "that we should know the real aim of the enemy. It is not our commerce, it is not our wealth, it is not our colonies in the West, or our territories in the East; nor is it our maritime greatness, or the extent of our empire—No; the object is our LIBERTY!—the basis of our independence, the citadel of our happiness, our CONSTITUTION! They themselves have declared it, openly avowed that our government and theirs cannot subsist together, and their endeavour is to destroy it. Should they come amongst us, they would bring with their invading army the great pestilence to man, the genius of French liberty, which contains in it every curse to society—in the place of our glorious principles and equal laws will be a hideous monster, whom nothing can content but the annihilation of the British empire. And are we under circumstances to be afraid or ashamed to declare, in a firm and manly tone, that we will defend ourselves? Are we to shun the truth, and forget the energy which belongs to Englishmen? If, therefore, we value property, liberty, law,—if we value national power or domestic happiness,—we shall resist these demands with indignation. There was not a man, let his enjoyments be ever so considerable, who ought not to sacrifice whatever portion of them might be requisite to oppose the violence of the enemy: nor one whose

meant to recede, from their demand that lord Malmesbury should satisfy them with regard to the full extent of his powers. When that point was ascertained, and not till then, the plenipotentiaries of France were ready to engage in the discussion of the *projet* of England: and if that plan was not accepted by the Directory, the French commissioners pledged themselves to bring forward a *contre-projet* of their own —Than this mode of procedure, nothing certainly could be fairer. But, if lord Malmesbury's powers were limited, as they strongly suspected, (and it should prove that he could treat only upon the basis of the *projet* he had offered) it was in vain for the French government to propose any other plan of pacification. And the demand by lord Malmesbury of a *contre-projet*, in which the interest of their allies, Holland and Spain, *must* have been in some degree sacrificed, was, on that supposition, wholly nugatory, to say the least,—probably artful and insidious.

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whoſe ſtock was ſo ſmall, that he ſhould not be ready to ſacrifice his life in the ſame cauſe. We owed it in gratitude to Providence, whoſe goodneſs had placed us ſo high in the ſcale of nations, and cauſed us to be the admiration of Europe, with moſt of the governments of which ours was an happy contraſt. The means of our ſafety were ſtill in our hands, our bleſſings were many, and the preſervation of them was our higheſt duty. He truſted that we never ſhould abandon it, to whatever extremity we might be driven, but cheerfully enter into a pledge for the ſincere performance of it, declaring our determination to ſtand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion, of our country."

Such was the faſcinating influence of this ſpeech, the whole force of which depended on the falſe and abſurd aſſumption "that the French inſiſted on the entire reſtitution of all the acquiſitions made by England in the courſe of the war, as a preliminary to negotiation," that it ſeemed to ſatisfy all doubts, and to ſilence all oppoſition.

Mr. Pollen complimented the miniſter on his eloquent harangue, and profeſſed, "his belief in the ſincerity of the miniſtry, imputing the failure of the negotiation ſolely to the French government. Of many of the paſt meaſures of the adminiſtration," Mr. Pollen ſaid, "he had diſapproved; but he now felt the neceſſity of throwing a veil over the paſt, and the addreſs had his moſt cordial ſupport."

Mr. Martin applauded the ſpeech, which he thought very convincing, and the amendment altogether unneceſſary. Seeing the French determined to dictate unreaſonable conditions, he allowed we ought not to permit ourſelves to be trampled upon, but to evince the ſpirit which became a great nation.

Lord Temple and Dr. Lawrence blamed the miniſter for having offered ſo much to the French as the price of peace, and were for purſuing the war with ſpirit and reſolution till the enemy were completely vanquiſhed.

Mr.

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Mr. Wilberforce hoped that, in this criſis, Engliſhmen would feel the neceſſity of coming forward, joining hand and heart, and proclaiming to the world that, however divided before, they would unite for general ſafety. Of this univerſal harmony of ſentiment he thought the unanimity of that night a happy omen, and he hoped the honorable baronet would withdraw his amendment, in order to give this firſt expreſſion of it the fulleſt force.

Sir John Sinclair then ſaid, "that he ſincerely wiſhed for unanimity, and *candidly* confeſſed he was not inſenſible to the weight of the arguments he had juſt heard, and therefore cheerfully conſented to withdraw his motion." Thus the miniſter came off triumphantly victorious, and the houſe broke up completely duped, and completely ſatisfied.

The nation at large alſo imbibing the ſame general idea, that the conceſſions offered by England were very great, and that the claims of France were highly unreaſonable and unjuſt, evinced an extraordinary and ſudden renewal of ardor in the proſecution of the war. Animated, at the ſame time, by the great and recent victory of lord Duncan, and not perfectly well pleaſed with the ſeceſſion of the members in oppoſition, they ſeemed inclined again to entruſt that confidence to Mr. Pitt which he ſo little merited, and had already ſo groſsly and dreadfully abuſed.

In the houſe of lords an addreſs, ſimilar to that of the commons, was moved by lord Grenville, who ſupported it in a long ſpeech after his manner, and by a great variety of arguments and aſſertions equally novel and curious. His lordſhip declared, "that the French plenipotentiaries had demanded of us, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to aſk, and to declare all that we would concede. It would," as his lordſhip affirmed, "have been not folly merely, but TREASON, in any miniſter to have complied with a demand ſo derogatory to the honor, and ſo fatal to the intereſts, of his country.—He was at a loſs to conceive

conceive what palliations could poſſibly be offered for the conduct of the enemy;—though," in his uſual ſtyle of inſinuation, his lordſhip added, that, "he well knew and lamented that every meaſure of the French government, in relation to this country, found more able and ingenious apologiſts here than in France;"—thus baſely attempting to throw the odium of his own miſerable blunders upon thoſe who, by detecting and expoſing them in the face of day, had ſo clearly manifeſted his political imbecility and incapacity.—The principal lords in oppoſition having ſeceded, as well as the commons, the addreſs paſſed without any debate or diviſion.

In a very early period of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced into the lower houſe to continue the reſtrictions upon the Bank, which paſſed with trifling oppoſition, or, indeed, obſervation.

On the 22d of November Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual ſtatement of accounts. The whole expence of the year appeared to amount, by this ſtatement, to 25 millions and a half. In order to furniſh a ſupply equal to this enormous demand, he declared it to be his intention to have recourſe to a perfectly new and ſolid ſyſtem of finance. Of this ſum ſix millions and a half would ariſe from the unappropriated produce of the ſinking fund, Exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Nineteen millions were then to be provided for. Seven of theſe he propoſed to raiſe *within the year* by a new impoſt, which ſhould be regulated by the exiſting aſſeſſed taxes in a triplicate proportion to their actual amount—limited, however, to the tenth of each perſon's income. Of the remaining twelve millions four might be borrowed without creating any additional debt; the produce of the ſinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpoſe of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount. For the other eight millions, he propoſed that the triple aſſeſſment be continued till the principal and intereſt be completely diſcharged; ſo that, after ſeven millions

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lions ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice of the year, the ſame taxes, in little more than another year, would pay off the eight millions thus borrowed, with the intermediate intereſt. This plan," he ſaid, "would extremely damp the hopes of the enemy. He acquieſced in what had been ſo often ſaid, that it would have been fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced; and he affirmed, that it was much to be lamented it had not been ſooner terminated: but the period was now arrived, when an abſolute neceſſity exiſted for a radical change of ſyſtem.

Mr. Tierney, recently elected member for Southwark, a man of great information, induſtry, and integrity, and who had declined joining in the ſeceſſion from parliament, wiſhed to be ſatisfied upon what grounds the Bank refuſed its creditors payment in ſpecie, whilſt at the ſame time it increaſed its advances to government?---How a ſyſtem of raiſing ſupplies which ſhewed that we had arrived at the end of all regular means of ſupply could damp the hopes of the enemy he could not conjecture; and he aſked upon what new funds the neceſſary loans were to be raiſed the enſuing years of the war? for, with the preſent adminiſtration, he held it impoſſible the country could have peace. The right honorable gentleman wanted the requiſites to bring about a peace. He wanted the reſpect and confidence not only of France but of Europe.

Mr. Curwen reminded the houſe, "that peace without indemnity might at leaſt have been procured; and it became gentlemen to conſider whether the war was worth carrying on for the ſake of indemnity. It was not for any injury done to us, but to our allies, the Dutch, that we entered into the war; and we were now for indemnifying ourſelves at their expence."

The bill brought into the houſe in conſequence of the reſolutions now paſſed was oppoſed with much vivacity in every ſtage; and on the ſecond reading Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan made again their appearance in the houſe. Mr. Sheridan affirmed, that it would be impoſſible for a very

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a very numerous claſs of houſekeepers ever to pay this dreadful tax, and that, if the new ſyſtem was enforced, it would go near to erect a fiſcal inquiſition in every houſe.

Mr. Fox declared, that he attended that night in conformity to the earneſt requeſt of his conſtituents.—He ſtigmatized the whole meaſure as bearing the ſtamp of deſpotiſm; and particularly reprobated that part of the bill, as manifeſtly unjuſt, which put it out of the power of perſons to leſſen their taxes by retrenching their expences. This clauſe," he ſaid "reminded him of the illuſtration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the antient government of France. "When at Lyons, Yorick reſolved to change his mode of travelling, and ſail down the Rhône inſtead of going poſt. The poſt-maſter, however, applied to him for ſix livres ſix ſous, as the price of the next poſt. 'But I do not intend to travel poſt,' ſaid Yorick, 'I mean to go by water.' 'That's no matter,' ſaid the poſt-maſter, 'you muſt pay for the next poſt whether you have changed your mind or not." He remarked alſo, that to rouze the energy of the people it was neceſſary to hear of the ſacrifices of the crown. It was from the higheſt place that the example ought to be given. It would animate and cheer the hearts of all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

"Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe laborum."

Mr. Fox concluded a ſpeech fraught with excellence by proteſting that he never would accept a ſeat high or low in any adminiſtration until public opinion ſhall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all abuſes, and for a direct return to the genuine but violated principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Mr. Mainwaring, member for Middleſex, ſaid, he had inſtructions from his conſtituents to vote againſt the bill. Such they declared was the nature of the meaſure, that, if attempted

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attempted to be enforced, they muſt either reſiſt or ſink under it.—The bill, after much oppoſition, finally paſſed by a majority of 196 to 71 voices.

ON its firſt appearance in the houſe of lords (January 5, 1798), the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed by the duke of Bedford. His grace obſerved, that the taxation in queſtion was no juſt criterion of general expenditure. If it *were*, expenditure was no criterion of income, and ſtill leſs was income a criterion of property. By the proviſions of this act, while ſome perſons paid a tenth, others would not contribute a twentieth, or perhaps a fiftieth, of their income. His grace expreſſed his wiſhes, notwithſtanding, that this plan of raiſing the ſupplies within the year had been adopted at the commencement of the war, as it might then have inclined the people to reflect whether the objects for which they embarked in it were worthy of ſuch exertions and ſuch expences.

Lord Holland, a young nobleman nearly related to Mr. Fox, and appearing to poſſeſs a large proportion of his genius and ſpirit, now ſpeaking for the firſt time in the houſe, declared, " that the executive government had been ſupported in its meaſures by a complying majority and a confident parliament, which had relied implicitly on the promiſes of miniſters—promiſes all terminating, after the expenditure of 200 millions, in defeat and diſappointment. At the end of five years he was juſtified in aſking, what pledge remained for their better conduct in future ? Had ſuch a bill been brought forward at the beginning of the war, it might have anſwered a good purpoſe, by opening the eyes of the people. But it was deemed more expedient at that time to delude them by aſſurances that the war would be neither long nor expenſive. When the miniſter had, at the opening of the former ſeſſion, called for eighteen millions, declaring that ſum to be ſufficient for the year's expenditure, and at the end of ſix months demanded as much more, could his aſſurances be confided in ? Of the preſent bill he muſt ſay, that it appeared to him more cenſurable than the worſt of the

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the revolutionary meaſures of Robeſpierre. It was at once intolerable in its preſſure, and incompetent to its purpoſe. He had well conſidered the dangers which threatened this country, and found none more great than the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office."—The bill paſſed, on a diviſion, by a majority of 67 voices.

Another great and favorite meaſure of finance was what the miniſter ſtyled, very improperly indeed, the redemption of the land-tax; and a plan certainly might have been eaſily deviſed, ſimple, efficacious, and beneficial, for the purpoſe of utterly extinguiſhing this odious tax, by a pecuniary commutation. But the miniſter's plan was no other than a ſcheme for the perpetuation and ſale of the land-tax; making it a ſpecies of transferable property—allowing indeed the landed proprietor the privilege of pre-emption on terms ſomewhat leſs diſadvantageous than to an abſolute ſtranger. With reſpect to the mode and terms of the purchaſe, it was propoſed that the payment ſhould not be made in money, but in a transfer of 3 per cent. ſtock, and that the ſtock ſo transfered ſhould produce an annual intereſt of one fifth, or, in caſes where the proprietor was himſelf the purchaſer, one tenth, more than the proportion of land-tax redeemed. The bill paſſed with inconſiderable oppoſition; but, from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one fourth of the land-tax was, in the ſpace of three ſucceeding years, bought up: and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, has not exceeded the trifling ſum of 50,000 *l. per annum*; and, as few more purchaſes can be expected, the project may be conſidered as having diſgracefully failed.

A third device ſet on foot by the miniſter was that of a voluntary national ſubſcription towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invaſion from a powerful and enraged enemy. All the adherents and partizans of the miniſtry, and all the zealous advocates of the war of all deſcriptions, exerting themſelves vigorouſly on this occaſion, about one million and a half was raiſed by this unuſual and not very conſtitutional method. The Bank of England,

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though ſtill unable to pay their own notes, and in a ſtate apparently approximating to bankruptcy, ſetting the example to the nation, ſubſcribed the ſum of 200,000 *l.*—thus making up in generoſity what they wanted in juſtice. The king and queen, after a very long interval of delay, ſubſcribed, the former 20,000 *l.* and the latter 5,000 *l.* to the national contribution; the amount of which, after all, compared to the general expenditure of the country, was as a drop of water to the ocean.

On the 25th of April the chancellor of the Exchequer, who had ſo lately profeſſed to bring forward an eſtimate of expence for the whole year, begged leave to ſtate a ſmall error in his calculation. The loan to be raiſed muſt, he ſaid, be fifteen inſtead of twelve millions. This he had contracted for at the exorbitant rate of 200 *l.* 3 per cents. for 100 *l.* in money, and about 5*s.* long annuity. But this was not the worſt. The principle upon which the late war-tax, ſtyled the Triple Aſſeſſment, was founded, being in the progreſs of the bill demonſtrated the moſt unequal and unjuſt, ſo many modifications and abatements had been admitted into it, that Mr. Pitt now thought proper to ſtate the amount at four millions and a half only. And eight millions being raiſed on the credit of it, excluſive of the produce of the preſent year, it appeared that this pretended war-tax muſt laſt at all events two years after the war, ſuppoſing a peace concluded at the end of the year. For the remaining ſeven millions taxes were to be provided, which, with a large increaſe of navy-debt, amounting to about four millions, required the ſum of 763,000 *l.* in addition to the annual burdens already ſuſtained by the public. And thus terminated the firſt great effort of this vaporing, vaunting, mountebank miniſter, to introduce a new and SOLID ſyſtem of finance—an effort which impoſed upon the nation temporary taxes, for three years, to the amount of four millions and a half; perpetual taxes to the amount of near 800,000 *l.*; and which created a new additional capital of forty-four millions

millions of debt for twenty-two millions actually paid into the public Exchequer.

Though a meſſage had early in the year been ſent from the king to the two houſes, ſtating the preparations making by the enemy for the invaſion of theſe kingdoms, and ſoliciting the attention of parliament to the ſubject, it was ſome time before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. At length, Mr. Dundas moved for the introduction of a bill, to enable his majeſty to call out a certain portion of the ſupplementary militia; and, after an interval of ſome weeks, for a ſecond bill, to enable his majeſty to take meaſures for the more effectual ſecurity of theſe realms, and to indemnify perſons who might ſuffer injury in their property by the operation of ſuch meaſures. This bill, which contained a great variety of regulations, proper and neceſſary to be adopted in caſe of actual invaſion, was received with very general approbation.

A third bill was brought into the houſe by Mr. Secretary Dundas, to revive the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act, which, when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and an invaſion in the other, could not be objected to. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon this occaſion, declared, that at no former period of the war were the preparations of the enemy for a deſcent upon this country ſo ripe, ſo extenſive, or ſo truly alarming, as at the preſent criſis. The French government, freed from the perplexities and ſtruggles in which it had been involved, by the military exertions of the continental powers, was now at liberty to employ its troops directly againſt us. Some difference of opinion took place reſpecting the duration of the ſuſpenſion, but it was at length fixed for the 1ſt of February.

The alarm of invaſion not only continuing, but increaſing, and the French having by this time aſſembled a vaſt force on the oppoſite ſide of the channel, the chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 25th of May, moved for a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy. The chief object he

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had in view was the temporary ſuſpenſion of protections, and it was his wiſh that the bill ſhould that day paſs through its different ſtages in that houſe, and be ſent up to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney expreſſed his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be provided for in the uſual way. No arguments had been offered to prove the propriety of ſuch an extraordinary deviation from the common practice of that houſe; nor was he prepared to give three or four votes without ſome deliberation and reflection in favor of a bill which, like all the other meaſures of miniſtry, he conſidered as decidedly hoſtile to the liberty of the ſubject.

Mr. Pitt roſe in great warmth, and ſaid, "that if every meaſure adopted againſt the deſigns of France was to be conſidered as hoſtile to the liberties of this country, then indeed his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honorable gentleman. Were the preſent bill not paſſed in a day, it was obvious that thoſe whom it concerned might elude its effects: but if the meaſure was neceſſary, and that a previous notice would render it inefficient, how could the honorable gentleman's oppoſition to it be accounted for, but from a deſire to obſtruct the defence of the country?"—Mr. Tierney now roſe, and called the chancellor of the Exchequer to order: and the Speaker interpoſing, with that dignified impartiality which has ever marked his conduct, obſerved, that whatever had a tendency to throw ſuſpicion on the ſentiments of a member, if conveyed in language that clearly marked ſuch intention, was certainly irregular. This the houſe would judge of, but they would wait to hear the honorable gentleman's explanation. Mr. Pitt replied, "that if the houſe waited for his explanation, he feared it muſt wait a long time. He ſubmitted what he had ſaid to the judgment of the houſe, and would not depart from any thing he had advanced, by either retracting or explaining them."—This peremptory refuſal to explain a moſt unparliamentary and injurious expreſſion, a refuſal no

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leſs diſreſpectful and inſolent to the houſe than unjuſt to Mr. Tierney, occaſioned a ſudden ſilence; and no perſon having the preſence of mind to move a reſolution of cenſure upon the miniſter, Mr. Tierney immediately left the houſe. The conſequence was, that a challenge was ſent from that gentleman to Mr. Pitt, and a duel fought between them on the enſuing Sunday; when two caſes of piſtols being diſcharged without effect, Mr. Pitt firing the laſt of his in the air, the matter was accommodated by the reſpective ſeconds.

The bill in queſtion having paſſed through all its ſtages, the chancellor of the Exchequer propoſed that it ſhould commence from the 24th *of May*, inſtant. This was objected to by Mr. Wigley, who, with good reaſon, thought it a moſt unjuſtifiable thing in itſelf, as well as dangerous in precedent, to make any law which ſhould operate in an *ex-poſt-facto* manner. The objection nevertheleſs was overruled, and the bill, with its odious appendage, finally paſſed into an act on the ſame day. Certainly, in every country, *ex-poſt-facto* laws are the moſt iniquitous, and, in a free country, the moſt hateful and heterogeneous of things. Whence! from what legitimate ſource, is this power derived, of ſubjecting men to the operation of laws before thoſe laws begin to exiſt,—by an infernal device thus binding their victims in an inviſible necromantic chain?

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Wilberforce again renewed his unfortunate motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. It was ſupported in two very eloquent ſpeeches, each excellent in its way, by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; the latter of whom, influenced by his native generoſity and humanity, would not abſent himſelf from this diſcuſſion. "The great plea," Mr. Pitt remarked, "for the continuance of the ſlave-trade was the neceſſity of a free importation, in order to enable the planter to bring his waſte lands into cultivation. To what did this reaſoning tend? In the laſt hundred years the cultivation of land in Jamaica

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Jamaica had increaſed, until about one-third of the iſland had been cleared. For this 250,000 ſlaves had not more than ſufficed. Of conſequence, for the cultivation of the remaining two-thirds, half a million more ſlaves would be neceſſary. This is the number which muſt be imported, with all the frightful waſte of mortality with which, as experience had fatally evinced, ſuch importation would be attended. And as a correſponding length of time would be requiſite for the converſion of the lands now waſte as for thoſe in actual cultivation, the period of the final abolition would be protracted for the term of two hundred years. The intereſt of the Weſt-India iſlands themſelves, nay, the ſafety of thoſe iſlands, which the motion before the houſe was ſaid by ſome to endanger, abſolutely required and demanded the immediate abolition of this commerce. It had been ſaid, that, as this trade was encouraged by the legiſlature, the abolition would be unjuſt toward thoſe who had acted upon the faith of the exiſting laws. But was it not known to thoſe who made the objection, that the legiſlature often beſtowed encouragement upon branches of commerce which in different circumſtances it was deemed prudent to withdraw? No partial inconvenience," Mr. Pitt truly and nobly affirmed, " ought to weigh againſt the indiſputed principle of juſtice, and againſt the general intereſts and ſafety of the iſlands themſelves, which it was the duty of that houſe to guard, whether it was or was not underſtood by the parties concerned in the diſcuſſion."

Mr. Fox, in a high ſtrain of eloquence, declared it to be a matter of ſhame and lamentation that the country ſhould be ſo degenerate from every ſenſe of virtue, ſo ſunk in hypocriſy, that, however convinced of the enormity of the wickedneſs, they had not yet abandoned that courſe which they agreed ſo unanimouſly to condemn. It had been alledged, that we ought not to judge of this commerce from the cruelty of the individuals engaged in it. But ſuch is the nature of man, that the idea of poſſeſſing unlimited authority, ſo far from inſpiring tenderneſs, produces contempt of

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of the object as worthleſs. If man had not been cruel, ſlavery itſelf could not have had exiſtence. He would not, for one, truſt to any local regulations of the colonial legiſlatures as had been recommended, but would vote for a direct and immediate abolition of a trade which the houſe had already condemned as inconſiſtent with juſtice and morality, and which, he agreed with the miniſter, was equally incompatible with good policy and the permanent ſafety of our Weſt-India poſſeſſions. Upon this occaſion, the houſe, momentarily impreſſed with a ſenſe of moral and political duty, was almoſt perſuaded to be juſt, the motion being negatived by a majority of four voices only, in a houſe of 175 members.

The proceedings in parliament during the whole of this ſeſſion were of a very momentous nature. On the 22d of March the duke of Bedford, at the cloſe of a very able ſpeech, moved an addreſs to the throne, humbly ſtating to his majeſty the urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity which exiſted of employing other miniſters, and adopting other councils---"Inſtructed as we are"---ſuch is the language of this excellent addreſs---"by a long ſeries of events, and corrected by experience, we are bound by our duty, and compelled by neceſſity, to ſubmit to his majeſty our humble opinion, that the ſituation of the country is too critical, and the dangers that ſurrounded it are too ſerious, to admit of any further trial of the ſame councils which have conſtantly failed, or of the ſame perſons for whoſe continuance in office, notwithſtanding the heavy and unanſwered charges which have been brought againſt them, even themſelves have nothing to plead but a feeble unavailing rectitude of intention, conſtantly overpowered by the ſuperior policy and vigor of the enemy, or a pretended apprehenſion, equally falſe and malignant, of the deſigns of thoſe whom his majeſty might appoint to ſucceed them in the adminiſtration of public affairs."—In the courſe of his ſpeech, this diſtinguiſhed nobleman took an occaſion to declare that he held a parliamentary reform to be eſſential to the

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the ſalvation of the ſtate; and, however he might have been calumniated as an eager and ambitious candidate for power, he pledged himſelf never to make one of any adminiſtration with which parliamentary reform was not a leading object; and that, if this meaſure failed, he would not continue in office. Yet he allowed there might be men of talents and integrity, perfectly well qualified for the firſt offices of the ſtate, who would not conſider parliamentary reform as a neceſſary ingredient in their ſyſtem; and, ſo long as they acted for the public advantage, they ſhould have his ſupport.—In alluſion to the threatened invaſion, his grace declared it muſt be obvious to every man, that, if the French ſucceeded, we ſhould be the moſt degraded of nations. No rational perſon could, for a moment, believe that they who oppoſe adminiſtration would abet the deſigns of an invading enemy,—that they who have conſtantly contended for the liberties of their countrymen would join an enemy whoſe avowed object is to deſtroy them. What then can we think of miniſters when we ſee them encouraging theſe baſe calumnies? It is certain no man can take any ſhare in oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration without being thus ſtigmatized.—"My lords," ſaid the noble ſpeaker, "determined as I am, never, by any act of mine, to contribute to the continuance of the preſent war, ſtill, if we are attacked by the enemy, I will be among the foremoſt to maintain the liberties of my country againſt all oppreſſors, tyrants, and invaders.—Never will I fight for the preſent miniſters; for I know of no more decided enemies to their country and their king than they are. I may for the moment ſuſpend my oppoſition to them, but it will be only for a moment. When I return, I return as decided a foe to them as ever. I abhor their conduct, I deteſt their principles, and againſt the ſyſtem upon which they have acted I vow eternal enmity. If ever an unmanly timidity ſhould make me enter into an alliance with them, if ever baſe fear ſhould induce me to join with them in oppreſſing my country,

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try, may the juſt indignation of the people purſue me! may the deteſtation of the world be my lot! and may the great Creator pour down his heavieſt curſes upon my apoſtate head!"—The motion of addreſs, after a long and vehement debate, was negatived by a majority of 100 voices.

It was impoſſible that the alarming ſtate of Ireland ſhould not excite very uneaſy apprehenſions; although, ſince the recognition of the national independence of that kingdom and its legiſlature, it was difficult to bring any queſtion relative to Iriſh affairs in a manner perfectly regular before the Britiſh parliament.—Early in the ſeſſion, and previous to the Chriſtmas receſs, however, the earl of Moira, a nobleman of great property, influence, and popularity, in that kingdom, and member of both legiſlatures, deeming points of form to be wholly ſubordinate to thoſe grand objects for which government itſelf was ordained and conſtituted, thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to renew the motion made by him in the preceding ſeſſion for an addreſs to the king reſpecting the ſituation of Ireland. This nobleman obſerved, that "he had unavailingly called the attention of the houſe laſt year to the ſtate of that country, and had in vain predicted the conſequences which the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed there muſt inevitably produce. The neceſſity of interpoſition was now become more urgent. All confidence, all ſecurity, were taken away. No one could ſay who would be the next victim of the oppreſſion and cruelty which he ſaw others endure. The greateſt and moſt wanton barbarities had been committed; but he wiſhed, from prudential motives, to draw a veil over theſe aggravated enormities. He entreated the houſe to take into ſerious conſideration the tendency of the preſent meaſures, which, inſtead of removing diſcontents, had increaſed the number of the diſcontented. The moment of conciliation was not yet paſſed; but if the ſyſtem were not changed, he feared that Ireland would be loſt to this country for ever."

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The motion was oppoſed by lord Grenville, and the lord-chancellor, who aſſerted that it was of a nature particularly unfit for the diſcuſſion of that houſe, as their lordſhips had no *authentic* information of the grievances of Ireland, in the firſt place; and no power to redreſs them, if exiſting, in the ſecond. They could not paſs an opinion upon them regularly; nor attempt to act, without ſubverting law and counteracting authority. Times of imminent danger required vigorous exertions; but no one could ſay that the adminiſtration of juſtice had ever been interrupted; nor ought any inſinuations to be thrown out againſt the parliament of Ireland, as if that aſſembly were deficient in their care for the welfare and the intereſts of their country.—The queſtion of adjournment was then put and carried.

Before the end of this ſeſſion, nevertheleſs, the general ſtate of affairs in Ireland became ſuch as to force itſelf again upon the notice of parliament. On the 26th of March the earl of Moira once more drew the attention of the houſe, by ſtating, "that he had the affidavits of a hundred perſons in his poſſeſſion, to prove that torture had been employed in forcing confeſſions from individuals, againſt themſelves and againſt their neighbours; that horrible devaſtations had been made on the houſes and property of perſons accuſed of diſaffection. The deponents were ready to come forward at the bar of the houſe with their teſtimonies; but he wiſhed to avoid whatever might tend to exaſperate; he ſhould therefore content himſelf with placing his affidavits in the hands of the noble lord on the woolſack."—The marquis of Downſhire entered into an elaborate vindication of the conduct of the executive government in Ireland; to which, when lord Moira roſe to reply, he was called to order by lord Carnarvon, who urged the impropriety and danger of ſo irregular a converſation; and, offering to explain, the duke of Athol moved an adjournment of the houſe.

On

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On the 15th of June the duke of Leinſter, a nobleman of the higheſt rank and reſpectability in Ireland, and a peer alſo of Great Britain, after a ſpeech, in the courſe of which his feelings appeared deeply agitated, moved an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly requeſting "that his majeſty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this houſe a full and ample ſtatement of the facts and circumſtances which had led to the diſaſtrous affairs of Ireland, and of the meaſures which had hitherto been purſued for the purpoſe of averting ſuch momentous evils. That, however alarming the diſcontents now prevailing in the ſiſter-kingdom were, we would not deſpair; but that the reſult of ſuch diſcuſſion would enable us to aſſiſt his majeſty, according to our conſtitutional duty, with ſome well-adapted remedy, ſuch as might reſtore, in that diſtracted part of the Britiſh empire, confidence in the laws by due adminiſtration of them, obedience to his majeſty's government by a temperate uſe of its powers, and union amongſt all deſcriptions of perſons in that kingdom."

A long and animated debate enſued, in which the motion was ſupported by the dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonſhire, and Leeds, the earls of Suffolk, Moira, Fitzwilliam, and Beſborough, and lord Holland; and oppoſed by the lords Townſhend, Carliſle, Grenville, Spencer, and the lord-chancellor. On the diviſion there appeared, contents 18, not-contents 51.—A ſtrong proteſt was ſigned by the diſſentient peers.

Upon the ſame day lord George Cavendiſh, after a ſhort and emphatic ſpeech, introduced into the houſe of commons the following ſeries of reſolutions, as proper and neceſſary to be adopted by that houſe for the ſalvation of Ireland:

"1. That whenever this houſe is called upon for ſupplies of men or money, to be provided by levies and taxes on our conſtituents, it is our right and duty to watch over and control the purpoſes to which they are to be applied.

"2. That

" 2. That this houſe is ready to make every exertion in its power to enable his majeſty to ſubdue all rebellion againſt his lawful authority—truſting he will temper ſeverity with mercy, and never loſe ſight of that equitable policy which, by the redreſs of real grievances, may ſecure to him the loyalty and affection of his people.

" 3. That although we ſhall be ready at all times, by all juſt means, to maintain the unity of the Britiſh empire, and our connexion with Ireland as a part of it, yet we never can believe it is the wiſh of his majeſty to ſupport the principle of governing that country as a conquered and hoſtile country—a principle no leſs contrary to juſtice than to the intereſts of the two kingdoms.

" 4. That it is the duty of the miniſters to adviſe his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to repeat the recommendation which he made through the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to that kingdom in 1793, ſeriouſly to conſider the ſituation of the Iriſh Catholics, and to conſider it with liberality, for the purpoſe of cementing general union amongſt his majeſty's ſubjects in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

" 5. That ſuch perſons as have expreſſed their diſapprobation of meaſures of conceſſion, and under whoſe adminiſtration Ireland has been reduced to a ſituation ſo imminently dangerous to the intereſts and happineſs of the empire, cannot be effectual channels of his majeſty's royal grace and beneficent intentions towards their fellow ſubjects."

Theſe excellent reſolutions were ſeconded by lord John Ruſſel; and it was pleaſing to thoſe attached to the ancient ſyſtem of Whiggiſm in this country, to ſee the illuſtrious names of Ruſſel and Cavendiſh combined in oppoſition to thoſe fatal meaſures which had reduced the Britiſh empire to the very verge of deſtruction. After a long debate, from which, as from that in the upper houſe, ſtrangers were punctiliouſly excluded,—the miniſtry, like the fooliſh oſtrich, hiding

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hiding its head to avert the danger,—the order of the day was carried by a majority of 146 voices—the numbers being 66 to 212.

Mr. Fox, who attended in his place upon this great occaſion, then moved the following propoſition: "That this houſe, underſtanding it to be a matter of notoriety that the ſyſtem of coercion had been enforced in Ireland with a rigor ſhocking to humanity,—and, particularly, that ſcourges and other tortures had been employed to extort confeſſions,—is of opinion, that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to practices ſo diſgraceful to the Britiſh name; and that our hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to Ireland muſt ariſe from a change of ſyſtem as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their ſtations of thoſe perſons by whoſe advice thoſe atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no ſentiments but of reſentment and terror."—This, after a ſecond debate, was negatived by nearly the ſame majority, the numbers being 62 to 204 voices.

On the 19th of June a meſſage from the king was delivered, acquainting the houſe, that various regiments of the militia of this kingdom had made a voluntary tender of their ſervices to be employed for the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in Ireland. An addreſs of thanks being moved by Mr. Dundas, preparatory to the introduction of a bill empowering his majeſty to accept the offers of ſuch regiments, a vehement debate aroſe. Mr. Nichols ſaid, "that if the addreſs were adopted, the principle of the Militia Bill, as originally eſtabliſhed, would be completely abandoned. The meaſure beſides would be unjuſt to thoſe who, wholly unſuſpicious of any ſuch intention, had entered, *bonâ fide*, into the militia ſervice. The houſe, moreover," he added, "ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the queſtion before they proceeded to give their ſupport to the executive government, and fully to aſcertain the cauſes of the diſcontent which had driven that unfortunate country into the preſent unnatural conteſt."

Mr.

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Mr. Lawrence Palk and Mr. Pierrepont, gentlemen not uſually found in the ranks of oppoſition, contended againſt the meaſure as a moſt groſs and flagrant violation of the conſtitution.

Mr. Banks expreſſed his apprehenſion "that if the principle of ſending the militia to Ireland, or to any place out of the realm, were once admitted, there was no ſpecies of warfare in which they might not be employed:" and he moved an amendment to the addreſs, importing, "that the houſe conſidered the propoſition ſuggeſted in his majeſty's ſpeech as of the utmoſt conſequence, and ſuch as required ſome further deliberation."

Mr. Tierney declared, "that the miniſter ought to come down to the houſe clothed in ſackcloth and aſhes when he had ſuch a propoſition to make as the preſent. There was no official communication to that houſe even of the exiſtence of a rebellion in Ireland, but in the meſſage calling upon them to take this important and unconſtitutional ſtep in order to ſuppreſs it. The militia was a part of the conſtitution: where was a ſubſtitute to be found for this body? The tenor of the oath was to ſerve faithfully in Great Britain."

Sir William Pulteney ſaid, "he was afraid that ſending the militia was now unavoidable; but this was no excuſe for thoſe who brought us into the embarraſſment." The houſe then divided: in favor of the amendment 47, againſt it 118. The bill finally paſſed, after much angry contention and oppoſition in both houſes.

The kingdom being thus left deſtitute of its natural and conſtitutional defence, under the impending and imminent apprehenſion of an invaſion, the ſpirit of military ardor ſeemed at once to ſeize and pervade the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men, whether friendly or adverſe to the meaſures of the exiſting adminiſtration, eagerly formed themſelves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice acting under temporary commiſſions from

from the king, till England preſented to her fierce and formidable foe the glorious picture of an armed nation inſpired with the magnanimous reſolution of ſacrificing their lives in defence of their country. From this grand ſpectacle France, which had hitherto cheriſhed the deluſive idea that ſhe had numerous partizans and adherents in Great Britain, ſhrunk back aſtoniſhed and appalled; and the Britiſh miniſtry themſelves at length were compelled reluctantly to acknowledge, that there were perſons of whom it might be truly ſaid, that they were at the ſame time enemies to them and friends to their country.* And indeed, in a too obvious ſenſe, he who was not an enemy to them, and to their raſh, deſperate, and execrable meaſures, could not be a true friend either to himſelf, to his country, or to his ſovereign.

The ſeſſion of parliament cloſed (June 29, 1798); and the king in his ſpeech took eſpecial and handſome notice of the heroic ſpirit by which the nation was now univerſally animated. "The example of your firmneſs and conſtancy," ſaid the monarch to the two houſes of parliament, "has been applauded and followed by my ſubjects in every rank and condition in life. A ſpirit of voluntary and ardent exertion, diffuſed through every part of the kingdom, has ſtrengthened and confirmed our internal ſecurity; the ſame ſentiments have continued

* By that extremely-inſignificant and criminal faction, of Jacobinical and Painite republicans, who maintained a traitorous correſpondence with France, there can be no doubt that the French government was moſt groſsly duped and impoſed upon, in reſpect to the general ſtate of parties and opinions in Great Britain.—"Counſels grounded upon foreign advice,"—ſays a certain, now almoſt-forgotten, writer of the laſt century, who was a ſagacious obſerver of men and things—"or any thing but a viſible experience, do rarely ſucceed. For intereſt, in ſuch as deſire a change, doth not ſeldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to diſhearten the prince they endeavour to embark in their defence. As it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favor of the Spaniards—the very Papiſts themſelves being no leſs unwilling than the reſt to ſee their native country in ſubjection to the ordinary cruelties found in ſtrangers."

OSBORNE'S *Eſſays*.

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continued to animate my troops of every deſcription, and my fleets have met the menaces of invaſion by blocking up all our enemies in their principal ports."

It is now highly requiſite to take a general view of that ſtate of affairs in Ireland which excited ſuch great and juſt alarm in the parliament and miniſtry of Great Britain. Certain it is, that from the æra of the firſt acquiſition of Ireland by the Engliſh, in the reign of Henry II. to the preſent time, the Iriſh nation, if by the nation is meant the bulk of the people, were never reconciled to the Engliſh government. They were indeed conſidered by England, and they conſidered themſelves, as a conquered people: they regarded the Engliſh government as a yoke, which it was not only lawful but meritorious to throw off, whenever they had the power and the opportunity. The general and obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Iriſh nation in the reign of Elizabeth, to go no further back, of Charles I. and of king William, to the whole power of England, affords irrefragable demonſtration of this grand truth. In conſequence of the immenſe confiſcations which ſucceeded the ſuppreſſion of theſe three rebellions, almoſt the whole landed property of the kingdom was transferred to the Engliſh ſettlers and their deſcendants, who formed as it were a diſtinct colony in Ireland, a nation within a nation, differing in manners, cuſtoms, language, and religion; and in whom, as the Iriſh catholics were deprived of the privileges of the conſtitution, and under a legal proſcription, not only the whole property, but the whole political power and influence of the country, was for a long ſucceſſion of years excluſively veſted. "At Clonnell, near Caſtlereagh," ſays a well known modern writer, "lives O'Connor, the direct deſcendant of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught 700 years ago. His monument, with the enſigns of royalty, is in Roſcommon church. This family has ſuffered more in the revolution of ages than the O'Neils and O'Bryens. The common people, however, pay him

him great reſpect, and conſider him as the prince of a people involved in one common ruin." *

The Engliſh colony in Ireland, or, adopting the phraſe formerly in uſe, "the Engliſh ſettlers within the pale," bearing no proportion in numbers to the genuine native Iriſh, were compelled to depend entirely upon the government of England for ſupport. The Iriſh legiſlature therefore readily, if not willingly, ſubmitted to the ſupreme authority aſſumed by the parliament of England as the price of their ſecurity. Or if they ever ſhewed a diſpoſition to conteſt this legiſlative ſuperiority, as in the reigns of king William and king George I. the reſiſtance was neither very ſerious or permanent. From the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, although the laws againſt popery, till a recent period, ſuffered no relaxation, the government of the country was adminiſtered in the ſpirit of mildneſs. The civilization of the inhabitants and the commercial induſtry of the community increaſed; improvements of all kinds made great and rapid advances; and the Catholics participated, however unequally, in the general proſperity—loſing gradually their attachment to the baniſhed houſe of Stuart, and acquiring with the increaſing liberality of the times additional degrees of light and knowledge. After centuries of animoſity, the Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed at length to *begin* to conſider themſelves as having a common and national intereſt diſtinct from that of England. The loyalty diſcovered by the Iriſh Catholics during the unfortunate diſputes with America, and the deſire of preſerving and increaſing that attachment, combined with a ſenſe doubtleſs of the injuſtice of the laws under which they ſuffered, induced the government here from time to time to exert its influence in the Iriſh legiſlature, to grant them ſuch relief as they were deemed entitled or qualified to receive: and every new acquiſition of liberty, or exemption from oppreſſion, confirmed and ſtrengthened the impreſſion of a

* *Vide* ARTHUR YOUNG'S 'Tour to Ireland.'

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common and national intereſt. The Iriſh legiſlature itſelf ſeemed to encourage the pleaſing and patriotic idea; and ſeeing the great diſtreſs and embarraſſment of England during the laſt years of the American war, Ireland eagerly embraced the golden opportunity to extort from her, firſt the grant of a free trade, and then the recognition of her political independence.

In making theſe demands the Iriſh parliament felt itſelf ſupported by the voice of the whole nation—the intereſt of the Catholics being no leſs concerned than that of the Proteſtants in the one, and their national pride no leſs gratified by the other. But no ſooner had theſe two grand points been carried by the aid and powerful concurrence of the Catholics, than they reverted with keener ſenſibility to thoſe ſevere unrepealed laws which ſtill placed them, as they conceived, out of the pale of the conſtitution.* They now, therefore, bent all their efforts to obtain a radical reform of the repreſentation; which, as they juſtly believed, would lead to a total abolition of the exiſting penal ſtatutes. But the Iriſh parliament, which had no longer any cauſe of contention with England, received their applications with the higheſt degree of jealouſy and averſion. Whither this radical reform would ultimately tend was indeed too obvious not to excite the ſpirit of determined reſiſtance in the legiſlatures of both countries, who trembled at the apprehenſion of a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſubſiſting abuſes in church and ſtate: and, ſhould a majority of Catholics be elected in conſequence

* "The declared object of the popery laws," ſays Mr. Burke, in his letter to ſir Hercules Langriſhe, "was to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miſerable populace, without property, without eſtimation, without education.—They divided the nation into two diſtinct bodies, without common intereſt, ſympathy, or connexion. The old code was a complete ſyſtem full of coherence and conſiſtency, well digeſted, and well compoſed, in all its parts; it was a machine of wiſe and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppreſſion, impoveriſhment, and degradation of a people, and the debaſement in them of human nature itſelf, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." v. 86-87.

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conſequence of this reform, the very exiſtence of the Proteſtant government and Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland would be endangered. Though ſome conceſſions were made therefore in ſubordinate matters, every motion brought forward in parliament for a reform in the repreſentation was rejected by vaſt majorities—the influence of the executive government being in perfect uniſon on this point with the inclinations, fears, and prejudices, of the legiſlative body.

In conſequence of their repeated diſappointments, the Iriſh Catholics remained in a ſtate of extreme diſſatisfaction, and almoſt deſpondency, till the great event of the French revolution inſpired them with new hopes and freſh courage. The juſt and noble principles of government promulgated by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, ſo congenial to the feelings of an oppreſſed and perſecuted people, were eagerly and enthuſiaſtically embraced by the Catholics of Ireland; as well as by that large proportion of the Iriſh Proteſtants who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed church,—a great and reſpectable claſs of men, who were formerly for the moſt part adverſe to the claims of the Catholics, but who were now the avowed and zealous defenders of their equity and juſtice.

In the year 1791 the famous ſociety of United Iriſhmen was formed, which profeſſed to have in view the abolition of all legal teſts and proſcriptions; the entire emancipation of the Catholics; and a radical reform in parliament:—and there exiſts not the leaſt proof of preſumption that the views of the ſociety at its firſt inſtitution, or for ſeveral years afterward, extended beyond theſe profeſſions, whatever might be the concealed deſign of individuals. The governments of both kingdoms nevertheleſs continued ſtill as inimical as ever both to the reform in parliament and the complete emancipation of the Catholics.

Such was the ſtate of things when Great Britain, againſt every rule of good policy, and even of common ſenſe, entered into the confederacy againſt France. As it was now of the utmoſt importance that the ſpirit of diſcontent in

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Ireland ſhould not be ſuffered to ariſe to diſaffection, the famous Catholic Toleration Bill was introduced into the Iriſh Parliament in the ſeſſion of 1793, under the ſanction of government, and on the expreſs recommendation of the ſovereign. This bill, in its paſſage through the two houſes, was much cramped and limited in its operation by the ſpirit of bogotry and folly: when paſſed, it was perceived to fall extremely ſhort of its profeſſed object; and the Catholics, diſpleaſed and diſappointed, declared loudly that nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than a complete emancipation and admiſſion to all the privileges of the conſtitution. To this claim the Engliſh government, whoſe intentions reſpecting the Catholics had not been fulfilled by the late bill, appeared to hearken with favorable attention: and, at the cloſe of the year 1794, earl Fitzwilliam was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with full powers, as he himſelf, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, underſtood, to carry the plan of emancipation into effect.---That thus much might have been conceded with the moſt perfect ſafety, and that the moſt beneficial conſequences would have reſulted from it, there cannot exiſt the ſhadow of a reaſonable doubt: and that the ſpirit of conciliation and of wiſdom might have happily compromiſed the remaining difficulties, relative to parliamentary reform and the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, is ſcarcely more problematical. But by ſome indiſcreet and premature diſmiſſals from office, lord Fitzwilliam alarmed the whole body of "king's friends," Tories, and "Swiſs of State," who would moſt probably have conformed to any plan, however favorable to liberty and liberality (that is, in other words, however contrary to their own malignant prejudices and inclinations), had they been allowed to retain their places. But the immediate conſequence of the too daring attack of lord Fitzwilliam upon this formidable phalanx was the peremptory recall of his lordſhip, the re-inſtatement of the diſplaced courtiers, and the grief, rage, and ruin, of the country.

This

This virtuous and patriotic nobleman was ſucceeded in the government of Ireland, as has been already related, by the earl of Camden; under whoſe diſaſtrous adminiſtration, diſaffection and oppreſſion, each operating alternately as the efficient cauſe of the other, were ſoon carried to a moſt alarming and terrible height. In the month of March 1796 was paſſed the famous Inſurrection Act, empowering the magiſtrates in any county or diſtrict to proclaim it out of the king's peace; and conſequently to ſubject the wretched inhabitants, at their diſcretion, or, in other words, their pleaſure, to military law, under colour of which the moſt horrible outrages were perpetrated.

Nevertheleſs, to the concluſion of that year, the Catholics ſtill flattered themſelves that a change of ſyſtem would take place in their favor; and when the French attempted an invaſion in the month of December, the whole kingdom, Catholics and Proteſtants, forgetting for the time their contentions and animoſities, diſplayed only an emulation of ardor in the national defence,—as the lord-lieutenant himſelf acknowledged in his official diſpatches. But the patience and forbearance of the Catholics was at length exhauſted; and the government, ſtill ſhewing itſelf proudly and obſtinately hoſtile to their humble claims, they ſuddenly and totally altered their whole plan of policy; and, in deſpair of obtaining juſtice at home, they entered into dark and dangerous intrigues with the French government, which in a ſhort time matured into a ſecret and treaſonable conſpiracy, by the aid and aſſiſtance of that hoſtile power, to ſubvert the exiſting conſtitution of their country, and to diſſolve for ever its connexion with Britain.

Although the impolicy of the Engliſh government in raiſing the hopes of the Iriſh Catholics to the higheſt pitch by the appointment of lord Fitzwilliam, and then daſhing the cup of expectation from their lips by his ſudden recall, is ſo egregious as to admit of no extenuation, it by no means follows that the revolt of the Iriſh Catholics, in actual circumſtances,

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cumſtances, was to be vindicated upon any true principles of reaſon. To whatever motives it might be aſcribed, no one could controvert the fact that the preſent reign had been to the Catholics a reign of indulgence and conceſſion. By the laſt act of toleration, they wanted, comparatively, but little of being reſtored to the perfect enjoyment of *civil liberty*; and as the current upon the whole ran in their favor, notwithſtanding ſome occaſional and temporary diſappointments, there is good ground to believe that, had they conducted themſelves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have ſucceeded in their attempts to be reſtored to their rights as men and citizens in their fulleſt extents—to their political as well as civil exiſtence. After the act of 1793 they ſuffered under no poſitive oppreſſion; their grievances were thenceforth negatived only: and ſurely it is not every error in government, it is not every refuſal to comply with a claim in itſelf juſt and equitable, that will juſtify reſiſtance, or authorize an appeal to arms. Obedience to the magiſtrate is the general rule of duty not to be departed from but on great and extraordinary occaſions, and upon urgent motives, ſuch as can never be pleaded in defence or extenuation of the Iriſh revolt of 1798.

And to view this tranſaction in another light, it may be pronounced no leſs raſh and imprudent than immoral and unjuſt. The number of thoſe who had entered into the aſſociation of United Iriſhmen, who had ſworn fidelity to the rules of the inſtitution, and who had been led on, ſtep by ſtep, to engage in this conſpiracy againſt the government, was indeed prodigious; but ſtill the power both of the ſword and the purſe, that moſt potent of all combinations, was in the hands of the Proteſtants: and, in caſe of neceſſity, the government of Ireland would, no doubt, be ſupported by the mighty force of Britain. The Iriſh Catholics muſt therefore be reduced to an abſolute dependence upon France in order to eſtabliſh their viſionary independency.

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independency. But what ſcenes of carnage and of horror muſt the wretched inhabitants of Ireland witneſs before the exiſting government could be ſubverted by the aid of ſuch an ally! And even ſuppoſing the object itſelf attained, did the conduct of France in other countries afford them any rational ground of expectancy that ſhe would act upon principles of equity, moderation, and generoſity, to Ireland? What had been her policy in Belgium, in Lombardy, in Venice? Even Holland, the only country where the French had appeared to obſerve any bounds or limits of moderation, was degraded to the rank of a dependent province;—and ſuch, no doubt, would have been the fate of Ireland, had ſhe ſucceeded in her wild and romantic project of ſeparating herſelf from Great Britain.

So early as the year 1794, the French government had, for the purpoſe of acquiring intelligence, ſent, as an agent into theſe kingdoms, one Jackſon, a native of Ireland, of the clerical profeſſion, who came to England recommended, as far as appears, to no other perſon than a Mr. Stone, merchant, at Old-ford near London, whoſe brother, a violent democrat, but a man of ſome parts and plauſibility, had a few years before removed to Paris in order to enjoy the bleſſings of French liberty. The merchant Stone, a man to the laſt degree weak and vain, received this dangerous friend with much hoſpitality, taking pains in their frequent conferences upon the ſtate of affairs, to convince him of the impolicy and impracticability of any attempt upon England: and to corroborate his own opinion, he obtained from divers highly-reſpectable perſons, to whom he had occaſional acceſs, their verbal or written ſentiments to the ſame effect—boaſting in lofty terms the great ſervice he ſhould be able, in conſequence of the communication he held with his brother in France, to render to this country. On applying, however, to Mr. Sheridan, he received very properly for anſwer, "that he would neither receive any information nor give any opinion; and that whatever he had

had to diſcloſe ought to be addreſſed to the ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Dundas, who would judge of the importance of it."—Upon the whole, Jackſon being convinced that the project of an invaſion of England was hopeleſs, repaired to Ireland, where he ſtill continued his correſpondence with Stone; both writing under feigned names, and in terms of confidence which ſhewed, on the part of Stone, to ſay the leaſt, inconceivable indiſcretion. The correſpondence being intercepted by government, both Jackſon and Stone were in a ſhort time apprehended on a charge of high-treaſon; and the former was convicted on the moſt deciſive evidence. When brought up for ſentence, however, he fell down ſuddenly, and expired before it could be pronounced. Stone, after a long confinement, was alſo tried; but the evidence being by no means clear, and his intentions, with reſpect to England at leaſt, appearing upon the whole innocent, and even laudable, he was, by the candor of the jury, acquitted of the treaſon imputed to him, and ſoon afterwards followed his brother to France.

Immediately on the conviction of Jackſon, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, accounted the original founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and ſome other diſtinguiſhed members of that aſſociation, who even thus early had formed deep deſigns againſt the exiſting government, thought it neceſſary to abſcond.

At the commencement of the year 1795 lord Fitzwilliam went over with powers which, had he been fortunately ſuffered to act upon them, would, beyond all queſtion, have completely tranquilliſed the nation. On his departure, things ſoon began to wear a moſt ſerious aſpect; and the ſociety of United Iriſhmen received an important acceſſion of men of parts and influence;—amongſt others, the celebrated Arthur O'Connor, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a zealous partizan of the meaſures propoſed by lord Fitzwilliam; Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the Catholic

Catholic committee; and Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent merchant of Dublin. The general views of the ſociety at this time ſeem to have been lawful and juſt: but thoſe of the leaders went certainly much farther, and very dangerous lengths. Though parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, and the abolition of tythes, were ſtill the profeſſed objects, they appeared from this period to addreſs themſelves much more to the paſſions than to the judgment of the people at large; and to exert unwearied pains to diffuſe opinions calculated to re-kindle in all its antient fury the immortal hatred between the Catholic and Proteſtant ſects—repreſenting to the former the dreadful injuries inflicted upon their anceſtors by the latter, of which the Catholics yet felt the grievous effect: and it has been upon high authority affirmed, that in the province of Leinſter, the common people, at firſt averſe to the meaſures propoſed to them, were terrified into an active concurrence, in conſequence of being aſſured by the emiſſaries of treaſon that it was neceſſary in their own defence, as their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, having ſworn to wade up to their knees in popiſh blood.*

At the latter end of this year a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the ſociety and the French Directory, through the medium of Mr. Wolfe Tone and other Iriſh refugees. And early in the following year a propoſition was received from the French government, that an army ſhould be ſent over to Ireland to aſſiſt in the projected effort to ſubvert the monarchy, and to ſeparate Ireland from the Britiſh connection. The propoſition was accepted by the ſecret committee of the ſociety, which had now extended itſelf over the whole kingdom, being regularly organized into primary aſſemblies, a certain number of delegates from which compoſed what they ſtyled the baronial committee

* 'Report of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, A.D. 1799.'

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committee—whence a second delegation formed the county committee. Delegates in the same manner from the county committees constituted the provincial committee; and the provincial committees made choice of five persons, who composed the national committee, styling themselves the Irish Executive Directory, whose orders were implicitly obeyed by the members of the union throughout the whole kingdom.

In the summer of 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, and a zealous leader of the association, in company with Mr. Arthur O'Connor, both members of the Irish Directory, repaired to the continent, and proceeding to Switzerland, held a conference near the French frontier with general Hoche, in which the plan of the invasion was finally adjusted. The causes which rendered that expedition abortive have been already narrated; but the loyalty displayed on that occasion by the Irish commonalty clearly proves that the Irish and French Directories had greatly miscalculated concerning the general disposition of the people at this juncture. The Irish leaders appeared, however, extremely resolute in the prosecution of their criminal designs; and the alliance with France became, in consequence of this failure, only the more firmly cemented. One Lewins was nominated resident minister of the IRISH REPUBLIC at Paris; and, in the summer of 1797, an ambassador extraordinary, Dr. M'Nevin, a member of the Irish executive directory, was deputed to Paris to make the necessary arrangements for a second invasion. The French government avoided returning any definitive answer till the issue of the negotiation at Lisle was determined; on the rupture of which they were lavish in their assurances of speedy and effectual support.

Two armaments, one from Holland, the other from France, were destined to sail nearly at the same time for Ireland; but the total defeat of the Dutch fleet under admiral De Winter by lord Duncan entirely disconcerted this second

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ſecond plan,—the French government, depending upon this co-operation, not chooſing to riſque the ſafety of their own fleet by permitting it to put to ſea from Breſt after this unlooked-for diſaſter. Thus the favorable moment was loſt: for things were now come to a criſis; and the project of inſurrection, if executed at all, could no longer be deferred.

Notwithſtanding the mutual aſſurances of regard and fraternity which paſſed between the two directories, it is certain that great jealouſies ſubſiſted on the part of Ireland at leaſt, and not without good reaſon, of the ſecret deſigns of the French government, which were ſuſpected to aim at the ultimate ſubjection of the ſiſter republic. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other chiefs of the Iriſh union, abſurdly confident in their own ſtrength, were deſirous of limiting the aſſiſtance of France to 10,000 men and 40,000 ſtand of arms. But the French, who were not deceived in the magnitude of the undertaking, declared an army of 50,000 men to be requiſite in order to eſtabliſh the *independency* and *liberty* of Ireland. They engaged, however, to ſend ſuch ſuccours as circumſtances would admit in aid of the intended inſurrection, and which would arrive in Ireland at the end of April or the beginning of May.*

At the commencement of the year 1798 a grand effort was reſolved upon. In the month of February a military commiſſion was appointed by the executive council, and inſtructions iſſued to the adjutants-general. Nocturnal aſſemblies were held in all parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the uſe of arms. The boldeſt depredations were made, the moſt unqualified menaces thrown out, and every thing ſeemed to preſage the near approach of a dreadful exploſion. On the other hand, where the king's troops and the Orange volunteer corps prevailed, the moſt horrid barbarities were practiſed upon the perſons, and the moſt ſhocking ravages committed upon the properties, of

* Report of the Secret Committee (England.)

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of the aſſociated Iriſhmen; and it ſeemed to be the policy of government to irritate and provoke them into a premature revolt.

The earl of Moira, at this time reſident in Ireland, on the 19th of February moved, in the Iriſh houſe of peers, an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, beſeeching his excellency "to purſue ſuch conciliatory meaſures as might allay the apprehenſions, and extinguiſh the diſcontents, unhappily prevalent in the country." This was the laſt almoſt hopeleſs effort of humanity and wiſdom to compoſe the differences, and heal the diſtractions, of this unfortunate and undone country. His lordſhip recapitulated thoſe abominable acts of cruelty and torture, flogging, picketing, half-hanging, &c. &c. by which the confeſſion of crimes had, in innumerable inſtances, been extorted from perſons againſt whom no legal evidence could be adduced, and no reaſonable cauſe even of ſuſpicion exiſted—perſons who, unleſs under the momentary preſſure of excruciating agony, ſtill perſiſted in the avowal of their innocence. His lordſhip declared his intention, if his ſtatement of facts was denied, to move for the examination of witneſſes at the bar of the houſe.* He admitted the probable exiſtence of conſpiracy in the kingdom: "but do not," ſaid he, "on a looſe charge of partial tranſgreſſion, inflict puniſhment on a whole community. The ſtate of ſociety is dreadful indeed, when the ſafety of every man is at the mercy of a ſecret informer; when the cupidity, the malevolence, or the

* "Innumerable are the examples," ſays a juſtly-celebrated writer, "of innocent perſons, who, from the agony of torture, have confeſſed themſelves guilty. Lives there a man who, when he reflects on ſuch cruelty, is not tempted to fly from ſociety, and return to his natural ſtate of independence? The reſult of torture is a matter of calculation, and depends on the conſtitution, which differs in every individual. To diſcover truth by this method is a problem to be reſolved only by a mathematician; who, when the force of the muſcles, and the ſenſibility of the nerves, of an innocent perſon are preciſely ſtated, may be required to find the degree of pain neceſſary to make him confeſs himſelf guilty of a given crime."

BECCARIA *on Crimes and Puniſhments.*

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the erroneous ſuſpicions of an individual are ſufficient to deſtroy his neighbour." His lordſhip ſtigmatized, in the ſevereſt terms of reproach, the culpable miſconduct of miniſters in the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, and the final refuſal of government to concede to the Catholics thoſe immunities which would give them a common intereſt with their countrymen. With reſpect to the queſtion of parliamentary reform, though he had himſelf no high idea of its practical benefit, he was of opinion that it had a juſt claim to be candidly inveſtigated, and that the general voice of the country ought to be complied with.

What effect meaſures of conciliation, if adopted at this late period, would have produced, it is not eaſy to conjecture. If they had not extinguiſhed the conſpiracy, they would have extremely diſconcerted the conſpirators, and weakened the bonds of the aſſociation. But there was as little hope on the one ſide as fear on the other, that any ſuch meaſures would be adopted. The lord-chancellor Fitzgibbon, recently created Earl of Clare, ventured boldly to aſſert, "that the ſyſtem of government had been a ſyſtem of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been ſo fairly tried as in Ireland, and in none had it ſo completely failed." His lordſhip adduced ſtrong facts to demonſtrate that the object of the United Society of Iriſhmen was to overthrow the government and diſſolve the Britiſh connection. "He did not juſtify the proceedings of the Orange-men, but he aſſerted that they were not enemies to their country. He did not approve the tortures, burnings, aſſaſſinations, and murderings, of which the noble lord had ſpoken; but he was compelled to obſerve, that when treaſon and rebellion make it neceſſary to call out the military, it is not always poſſible to reſtrain their reſentments."

The lord-chancellor having, in the courſe of his ſpeech, paſſed ſome reflections on the biſhop of Down, who had promoted a petition to the king in favor of conciliatory meaſures,

meaſures, that prelate, with much firmneſs and dignity, vindicated his character from the illiberal aſperſions thus publicly thrown upon it. He acknowledged "that he was a friend to conciliation. Coercion," he ſaid, "had been tried long enough. With reſpect to Catholic emancipation, he conſidered it as a matter of right, not of favor; and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the ſtate of the country rendered abſolutely neceſſary: and the preſent calamities of the country he aſcribed to that moſt impolitic and lamentable meaſure, the recall of lord Fitzwilliam." The motion of lord Moira was finally rejected by a very large majority.

It is a memorable circumſtance, that, nine days only after this debate, ſir Ralph Abercrombie, commander-in-chief, declared in public orders, "that the very diſgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs which muſt render it formidable to every one but the enemy." This able and highly-reſpected officer was immediately ſuperſeded by general Lake.

Early in the new year, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended Executive Directory, leaving Ireland, had arrived in London, with an intention of proceeding to France in company with one Binns a very active member of the Correſponding Society, James O'Coigley an Iriſh prieſt, and two other perſons of the names of Allen and Leary. During the temporary reſidence of Mr. O'Connor in London, that gentleman, and O'Coigley the prieſt, a man of great courage, activity, and addreſs, kept up a confidential intercourſe with the principal members of the popular ſocieties in London; which, in conſequence of the ſevere and impolitic meaſures of government, had gone on in the uſual progreſſion, from diſcontent to diſaffection; and the object of whoſe moſt daring leaders, for two years paſt, had avowedly been the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh republic by the

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the aſſiſtance of France; and meetings were privately held to concert the means of procuring arms to enable them to co-operate with the French forces in caſe of an invaſion. A traitorous cabal of this ſort was attended by O'Connor and O'Coigley, at an apartment in Furnival's Inn, which was the cuſtomary place of reſort with thoſe who were moſt deeply engaged in the conſpiracy; and ſecret conſultations were here carried on with a view to projects deemed too dangerous and deſperate to be brought forward in any of the larger ſocieties. Amongſt theſe plans, it is pretended, was a moſt horrid one, for effecting a general inſurrection at the ſame moment in the metropolis and throughout the country; and of directing it to the object of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houſes of parliament. An officer of ſome experience in his majeſty's ſervice was ſelected as their military leader; and though theſe plans were not as yet ſufficiently matured to warrant any preſent attempt, the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained that the time was nearly ripe for meaſures of open violence.

Attempts had been recently made, and with much ſucceſs, to form in this country a ſociety of United Engliſhmen, on the model of that of the United Iriſh, and O'Coigley and Binns were the leading perſons in that deſign. In and about the town of Mancheſter only, the aſſociation had extended itſelf to no leſs than eighty diviſions, containing from fifteen to thirty-ſix members each; and it was organized in like manner with that of Ireland, under the direction of county and provincial committees, &c. the whole being governed by a ſecret executive committee, whoſe orders were implicitly obeyed by all the members of the ſociety. An aſſociation of the ſame nature was alſo eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and both of them maintained an intimate intercourſe with the original correſponding Society.*

Government

* Theſe particulars are taken from the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, preſented by Mr. Dundas, January 23, 1799, which

Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and deſigns of O'Connor and his companions, on the 28th of May they were taken into cuſtody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a paſſage to France. Upon the prieſt O'Coigley was found a paper, ſtyled an Addreſs from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France, clearly demonſtrating the traitorous views of thoſe concerned in the framing or tranſmiſſion of it to the French government. Being brought to their trial at Maidſtone, in a few weeks, O'Coigley was capitally convicted, on the evidence of the paper in queſtion, of high-treaſon, and immediately executed—ſuffering with heroic fortitude, as a victim in the cauſe of his country, the utmoſt penalties of the law. Nothing beyond preſumptions appearing againſt his companions,—Allen and Leary were, by the lenity of the Engliſh maxims of juriſprudence, ſet at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, notwithſtanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high-treaſon, no doubt on very good grounds, preferred againſt them. The rank in life and connections of O'Connor being very diſtinguiſhed, as the nephew and reputed heir of lord Longueville,—his manners alſo being prepoſſeſſing, and his general integrity of character unimpeached,—he had eaſy introduction to ſome of the firſt families in England, chiefly thoſe connected with the oppoſition; and, from a principle of honor, cautiouſly and carefully concealing from them his real deſigns, he was univerſally believed to have extended his views no farther than the entire emancipation of the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament upon the principles of the

being itſelf founded on the *reports* of the government ſpies, muſt be received with many grains of allowance. The plot for aſſaſſinating the king and royal family, &c. ſeems an incredible extravagance, and has been confirmed by no collateral evidence. Of the diſaffection of the leaders of the popular ſocieties *at this period*, however, there can remain no reaſonable doubt. The "experienced officer" alluded to, is ſuppoſed to have been the unfortunate colonel Deſpard.

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the conſtitution. Several perſons, therefore, of the firſt diſtinction and merit appeared at Maidſtone to give evidence to his character as, to the beſt of their knowledge and belief, a true and loyal ſubject, which excited much temporary abuſe and obloquy in the miniſterial prints.

The criſis was now arrived which was to prove fatal either to the government or to the conſpirators. In a complicated plan of conſpiracy, the agency of many perſons muſt be employed; and, as the plot ripens to maturity, the ſecret of it muſt be gradually diſcloſed. Among the perſons admitted to a conſiderable ſhare of confidence, was one Reynolds, formerly a ſilk manufacturer in Dublin, but now reſident in the county of Kildare. Having been ſworn an United Iriſhman in February, 1797, Reynolds was in the following winter appointed treaſurer to the county, and alſo a colonel in the army of the inſurgents. On the 25th of February, 1798, this loyal traitor diſcloſed to a partizan of government, of the name of Cope, the nature and whole extent of the conſpiracy, being particularly careful not to omit that a meeting of delegates for the province of Leinſter was ſummoned for the 12th of March, at the houſe of Mr. Oliver Bond, one of the five executive directors. At the day and hour appointed for the meeting, the houſe of Mr. Bond was beſet by the officers of juſtice. Fourteen of the delegates, with their ſecretary, were apprehended, and, at the ſame time, Dr. M'Nevin and counſellor Emmett, both of the directory, and ſeveral other leading members of the ſociety, were taken into cuſtody.

A warrant was alſo iſſued againſt lord Edward Fitzgerald; but he eſcaped, and remained for ſeveral weeks concealed in the city of Dublin, but was at length diſcovered in the houſe of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers. On the police officers entering the room, the unhappy nobleman made a deſperate but hopeleſs, and, againſt men employed in the diſcharge of their public duty, very improper defence. He wounded two of the principals, Mr. Juſtice Swan and

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a captain Ryan, dangerouſly—the latter, as it proved, mortally; and was himſelf ſo ſeverely hurt in the fray, that, the agitation of his mind alſo no doubt contributing to the cataſtrophe, he languiſhed a few days only before he expired. His intentions appear to have been upright, his views diſintereſted, his courage heroic; but he had deeply imbibed thoſe fatally-romantic notions in politics which are ſo ill calculated to attain the practical purpoſes at which they profeſs to aim.

Government received alſo full information of the projects of the conſpirators from another quarter. A captain Armſtrong, a man of great art and addreſs, had been inſtructed to profeſs himſelf a convert to the cauſe, to enter into the ſociety, and to obtain, by a ſhew of zeal and all the attentions of aſſiduity, the confidence of the leaders,—in all which he ſucceeded to a very great degree, without exciting the remoteſt ſuſpicion.

The whole body of conſpirators being thrown into the greateſt confuſion and conſternation by the late arreſts, and the whole executive directory being now in ſecure cuſtody, the government, on the 30th of March, publiſhed a proclamation, ſtating, "that the traitorous conſpiracy, long exiſting within this kingdom, had broken out into acts of open rebellion; and giving notice that the moſt direct and poſitive orders had been iſſued to the officers commanding his majeſty's forces to employ them with the utmoſt vigor and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof." And, on the 18th of April, the internal diſorders and diſtractions of the kingdom daily and almoſt hourly encreaſing, major-general Duff gave public notice, "that the lord-lieutenant and council had iſſued orders to him, to quarter troops, to preſs horſes and carriages, to demand forage and proviſions, and to hold courts-martial for the trial of offences of all deſcriptions, civil and military." The general concludes with ſaying, "the people are forewarned, that, in caſe of invaſion from the French, if they ſhould attempt to join the enemy,

enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any insurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houses and properties destroyed. The general-officers call on the people to know why they should be less attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they shewed so much loyalty in assisting his majesty's troops to oppose the landing of the French?"

A new executive directory had been appointed by the provincial delegates, amongst whom were two brothers of the name of Sheares, by profession barristers, young men of excellent talents, and, politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new directors the profligate Armstrong, early in the month of May, obtained an introduction; and from them he learned "that a general rising must immediately take place,—that the impatience of the people, since the criminal prosecutions, could no longer be restrained,—that it was become necessary to make a great national effort, and relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succours." The project proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, in one night—the 23d of May. It was also planned, that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. But, on the 21st of that month, the two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended, the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant and council to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garrison.

By these precautions the metropolis was happily preserved from becoming a scene of blood and slaughter; but on the day prefixed great bodies of the insurgents appeared in arms in different parts of the country. In a dispatch from lord Camden to the duke of Portland, May 24, his excellency states, "that at half past two that morning a

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regular attack had been made by a rebel force, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, armed with muſquets and pikes, upon the town of Naas, fourteen miles only from Dublin, but which was repulſed by the Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Antient Britiſh fencibles, commanded by lord Gosford." Three of the priſoners taken were immediately hanged in the public ſtreets, by way of example. —About the ſame time general Dundas came up with and defeated a large party of the rebels poſted on the north ſide of the Liffy, near the hills of Kilcullen. On the 25th, a body of about 400 rebels, which had ventured to enter Rathfarnham, a village in the vicinity of Dublin, was encountered by a ſmall party of dragoons, and diſperſed with loſs: their two leaders being taken, were immediately tried by a court-martial and executed.

On the 26th of May another and much larger diviſion of the rebel force was defeated at Tallagh-hill, about thirteen miles from the metropolis; and nearly at the ſame time they were repulſed in two different attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare—in all theſe actions loſing not leſs than a thouſand or twelve hundred men in a very few days after the commencement of hoſtilities. But their chief effort was made in the county of Wexford, where they aſſembled in great force between the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy, ſituated on the river Slaney; the latter of which places they carried ſword in hand on the 28th of the ſame month. It was impoſſible for Wexford long to hold out, and, on the 30th, the white flag was diſplayed, and the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. A ſcene of horrid diſorder and outrage enſued on the entrance of the rebels into the town. The houſes of the Proteſtants were ranſacked, and great numbers of the inhabitants committed to priſon. Three gentlemen of large property, members of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who had been for ſome time paſt in cuſtody, on a charge of high-treaſon, were at the ſame time liberated, and one of them, Beauchamp Bagenal

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Bagenal Harvey, nominated to the chief command of the rebel army, though in no reſpect qualified for ſo arduous an office.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the rebels marched, under the conduct of their new general, June the 5th, to the attack of New Roſs, where general Johnſon, an excellent officer, commanded. With a view to diſorder the king's troops, who did not amount to 3,000 men, poſted withoutſide the town, the rebels drove before them with their pikes a vaſt number of horſes and oxen. They had alſo ſome field-pieces and howitzers. The weight of the rebel column, after a brave reſiſtance, forced the troops into the town, fortified only by an old ruinous wall. Here the battle re-commenced, and, after a dreadful carnage, the rebels were at length compelled to retreat with great loſs; though the military were prevented by extreme fatigue, the action having laſted eight hours, from attempting a purſuit. The gallant lord Mountjoy was killed early in this engagement, fighting at the head of his own regiment. In revenge for this diſappointment, and by way of retaliation for the numerous executions by martial law which had been inflicted upon their deluded adherents in different places, the rebel chiefs condemned a great number of the loyaliſts of Wexford and Enniſcorthy to death—and this ſentence was carried into effect a few days after, with circumſtances of exceſſive barbarity.

On the 9th of June the rebels made an attempt upon Arklow, with as little ſucceſs as the former upon Roſs. Their circumſtances now became critical—general Lake advancing towards the ſeat of the ſouthern rebellion with large reinforcements. The main body of the rebels, to the amount of 18 or 20,000 men, had taken an uncommonly ſtrong poſition within a mile of Enniſcorthy, upon an eminence called Vinegar-hill, from which, had they poſſeſſed any ſhare of military ſkill, it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, to diſlodge them. A cordon of troops was

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was gradually collected from different quarters, which almoſt ſurrounded the rebel ſtation. The 21ſt of June was deſtined for the grand attack. A column, under general Johnſon, began the fight by an aſſault upon the town of Enniſcorthy, ſituated upon the right bank of the Slaney, immediately under the hill, at the baſe of which that beautiful ſtream flows in a winding channel. Three other columns, under the generals Dundas, Duff, and Needham, aſcended the mountain in different directions. The rebels maintained their ground obſtinately for an hour and a half; but, on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation, part of them flying to the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of hills ſeparating the counties of Carlow and Wexford. Being purſued with vigor, and no quarter given, they ſuſtained immenſe loſs; while of the king's troops the whole number of killed, wounded, and priſoners, was ſomething leſs than a hundred, ---a ſurpriſing proof of the ſuperiority of ſkill and diſcipline over mere unenlightened courage.

Wexford was evacuated the next day. General Lake, in his public diſpatch of that date, affirms, that general Moore had entered the place ſo opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes; and, which was ſtill more intereſting, the premeditated maſſacre of the remaining priſoners---eighty-ſix perſons having been murdered by them the preceding day, military muſic attending and playing a dead march, and their bodies, pierced with pikes, thrown over the bridge. Other horrible cruelties were alſo committed by the rebels on the Proteſtants of that vicinity; and, previous to their retreat from New Roſs, it is ſaid, in particular, that poſitive orders were iſſued by one of the rebel commanders, Murphy, a prieſt, to ſet fire to a large barn at Scollobogue, ſome miles diſtant, where a very conſiderable number of their priſoners, including women and children, were confined, in order to prevent their eſcape

eſcape—and all periſhed, amidſt ſurrounding ſhouts of ſavage exultation.

Harvey, the rebel general, who had expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of theſe enormities, was diveſted of his command after the battle of Roſs; and their leaders were choſen from the moſt barbarous and bigoted of their own ſect. Having been ſuffered to abſcond, this unhappy man, who ſaw and acknowledged his error when too late, ſought to conceal himſelf in a cave upon one of the rocky iſlands which lie near the entrance of Wexford-harbour. But being diſcovered, he was immediately tried by a court-martial, and convicted; and with divers other perſons, executed June the 26th, on the bridge of Wexford. On the ſame day a large body of the rebels, with the bloody bigot father Murphy at their head, who had eſcaped from Vinegar-hill, were defeated by general ſir Charles Aſgill, at Kilconnel,—conſiderably more than a thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, with trifling loſs on the part of the king's troops. Murphy was ſoon after taken in his flight, and moſt deſervedly hanged.

Whatever might be the fond and deluſive hopes entertained by the comparatively very ſmall number of rebel chieftains, who, uninfected by the contagion of religious phrenſy, had embraced the new doctrines of liberty, equality, and univerſal fraternization, it immediately appeared, upon the breaking-out of this ſanguinary rebellion, how utterly unable they were to inſpire the bulk of their ignorant, ferocious, and brutal followers with ſentiments of common humanity, or to reſtrain them within the limits of law, equity, or juſtice. The generality of the prieſts who appeared openly in this rebellion took the utmoſt pains to diffuſe, as widely as poſſible, the malignant ſpirit of religious bigotry and inveterate animoſity againſt the Proteſtants, very few of whom were found in the ranks of the rebel army. Thoſe who had been imprudent enough to enter were either obliged carefully to conceal their religion, or ſubmit

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to be re-baptized by the prieſts, who were continually preaching up, that, in deſtroying heretics, they were performing a duty to heaven. Murphy, one of the moſt popular and profligate of this claſs, in a ſermon delivered by him after the defeat at Roſs, declared, "that thoſe who were killed in that battle had fallen in conſequence of their want of faith—that this general riſing of the Catholics was viſibly the work of God—that the Almighty had determined the heretics, after having reigned ſo many years, ſhould be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion eſtabliſhed." At the ſucceſsful attack at Three-Rocks, previous to the ſurrender of Wexford, the ſame Murphy marched at their head, telling them "not to fear; for if they took up the duſt from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops, they would fall dead before them." Many of the prieſts pretended to give charms to prevent the balls of the ſoldiery from hurting them; and father Roche, one of the number (as was believed by theſe poor credulous wretches) did conſtantly catch the bullets that came from his majeſty's army in his hand.* Such were the baſe materials with which the raſh and preſumptuous leaders of this rebellion hoped to conſtruct, in the room of the exiſting government, a pure and perfect fabric of uncontaminated democracy! Certainly, a more crude, wild, and viſionary project, never entered into the head or heart of man. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that the higher deſcriptions of Catholics, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, were in any degree implicated in this atrocious revolt, and much leſs that they approved of the mode of conducting it. On the contrary, the whole body of the Catholic prelacy, comprehending the twenty-two titular biſhops and archbiſhops, with the lords Fingal, Southwell, Gormanſtown, and Kenmare, ſir Edward Bellew, ſir Thomas Burke, &c. &c. ſigned and publiſhed a paper,

* *Vide* "Report of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons."—Alſo "Appendix to Jackſon's Narrative."

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paper, containing a very ſtrong diſſuaſive from joining in the rebellion, and exhortation to all who were concerned in it to return to their allegiance,—declaring, "that, by refuſing to relinquiſh the treaſonable plans in which they are engaged, they will not only ſubject themſelves to the loſs of life and property, but throw on the religion, of which they profeſs to be advocates, the moſt indelible ſtain."

After the great defeat at Enniſcorthy, the rebels were never able to rally, or to appear again in any conſiderable force in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom. In the north, where general Nugent commanded, the inſurrection became general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim. The town of Antrim was for a ſhort time in the poſſeſſion of the rebels, but they were, on the 7th of June, driven out of that place after a ſharp engagement and cannonade. In this action lord O'Neil received a dangerous wound, of which he afterwards died. On the 12th of the ſame month their main force, amounting at moſt to 6 or 7,000 men, was attacked and totally defeated at Ballynahinch. A party of the rebels alſo were repulſed at Carrickfergus; and, in a ſhort time, the generality of the inſurgents laid down their arms, and the tranquillity of Ulſter was reſtored.*

Though

* "The horrible cruelties," ſays a certain writer, zealous in the cauſe of government, "exerciſed by the great body of the rebels in Leinſter, on the Proteſtants, ſoon alarmed the few Diſſenters, confederates of the Romiſh inſurgents in the north. They immediately ſaw into the real deſign of their new allies; and withdrawing themſelves from a conſpiracy, which they clearly perceived would in its ſucceſs be attended with their own deſtruction, all projects of rebellion vaniſhed in the province of Ulſter. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partizans; and the flame, thus feeble, was eaſily quenched, never to be re-kindled.—The great ſtrength of the rebellion lay in the province of Leinſter. The whole maſs of the Romiſh inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, roſe at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of 50,000

Though no diſſatisfaction was expreſſed at the conduct of lord Camden, it was deemed proper by the Engliſh cabinet, that, in the exiſting circumſtances, Ireland ſhould be placed under the government of a military lord-lieutenant, who might, nevertheleſs, be of a temper leſs obdurate than the preſent viceroy;—and an happy choice was made in the perſon of the marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June; and under his auſpices the general ſyſtem of government immediately changed to that of moderation and lenity. Some ſevere examples were, however, deemed abſolutely neceſſary; and a ſpecial commiſſion was, in a ſhort time, opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal delinquents. At the bar of this court the brothers, John and Henry Sheares; M'Can, ſecretary to the provincial meeting; and O'Byrne, a noted member of the United Aſſociation; were all tried and executed. Mr. Oliver Bond was likewiſe tried on the 23d of July, convicted and condemned; and in his fate the other conſpirators now began to read and foreſee their own.

The rebellion was by this time apparently cruſhed: the people were every-where returning to their allegiance, and delivering up their arms. Their hopes from France had been miſerably diſappointed, and nothing appeared before their eyes but individual deſtruction, without having effected any one purpoſe for which they had aſſociated. In theſe circumſtances it was intimated, on the part of government, that if Mr. Bond would conſent to give to adminiſtration all the information of which he was poſſeſſed, relative to the late conſpiracy and rebellion, his ſentence might be commuted for that of baniſhment. This propoſition was nobly

50,000 men. Confiding in this ſtrength, they did not think it neceſſary to conceal their deſigns of extirpating the Proteſtants:—the exciſion of all heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention, and evinced by their actions the ſincerity of this declaration."

DUIGENAN'S *Repreſentation of the Political State of Ireland.*

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nobly rejected by Bond, if his information or evidence ſhould endanger the life of any man with whom he was connected. The mercy of government was then extended to all the ſtate priſoners, including O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin; who acceded to the terms offered, on condition they ſhould be at liberty voluntarily to tranſport themſelves to any country not at war with his majeſty, and that no further proſecution ſhould be carried on, except againſt actual murderers, or ſuch rebels as ſhould hereafter be taken in arms. A general amneſty, with a few exceptions, was ſoon after granted by the chief-governor, and confirmed in parliament. The ſyſtem of moderation and mercy adopted by this reſpectable nobleman was peculiarly ſeaſonable, and attended with the happieſt effects. Moſt of the rebel corps, who retreated to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, took the benefit of the amneſty, and laid down their ams: thoſe who ſtill reſiſted were rather banditti, who confined themſelves to nocturnal depredations, than troops in arms againſt the government.

Thus was the kingdom of Ireland once more reduced to peaceable ſubjection to the crown of Great Britain, and a dangerous rebellion cruſhed, which, had the government of the country been previouſly actuated by the beneficent ſpirit of the nobleman who now filled the higheſt office in it, would never have exiſted.—"To hinder inſurrection," ſays a great and juſtly-celebrated writer, "by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no ſubjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity in politics: to ſoften the obdurate, to convince the miſtaken, to mollify the reſentful, are worthy of a ſtateſman; but it affords a legiſlator little ſelf-applauſe to conſider that where there was formerly an inſurrection there is now a wilderneſs."*

Contrary to the general ſpirit of the now-prevailing ſyſtem, and contrary alſo, it is probable, to the private ſentiments

* JOHNSON'S *Tour to the Hebrides.*

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timents of the good and worthy chief-governor, a bill was introduced into parliament, which, at a very late period of the ſummer, was ſtill ſitting, for the confiſcation and forfeiture of the eſtates of lord Edward Fitzgerald, Bagenal Harvey, and Cornelius Grogan, a man of large property, who had ſuffered in this rebellion,—and finally paſſed into an act. The caſe of the former, who had neither been tried nor convicted, was deemed peculiarly hard. The celebrated advocate Curran pleaded with great eloquence at the bar of the houſe againſt the bill of attainder. "Often have I, of late years," ſaid this great ornament of his profeſſion, "gone to the dungeon of the captive, but never yet to the grave of the deceaſed, to receive inſtructions for his defence:—Never have I, till now, been called upon to plead at the trial of the dead! What might perhaps have admitted of eaſy explanation, during the life-time of the accuſed, muſt now be for ever buried with him in ſilence. The preſent bill convicts where proof is impoſſible, and puniſhes where guilt cannot exiſt: it confiſcates the property of the widow, and robs the orphan's cradle. A ſtate muſt be reduced to the loweſt degradation, when it is driven to ſeek protection in the abandonment of the law,—in that melancholy avowal of its weakneſs and its fears."

It is remarkable, that for the ſpace of near three weeks of the month of June, during which the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Wexford, and their armies were in that part of the country maſters of the field, no ſupply of men, arms, ammunition, or ſtores of any kind, arrived from France, although the Directory had poſitively engaged that an armament ſhould ſail to their aſſiſtance at the latter end of April, or, at the fartheſt, early in the month of May; but when the inſurrection was completely quelled, and no proſpect of ſucceſs remained, a ſmall French ſquadron, part of a much larger force deſtined for the ſame ſervice, appeared on the coaſt of Connaught, and, on the 22d of Auguſt, caſt anchor in the bay of Kil-

lala,

lala, where the troops on board diſembarked; and the number not being aſcertained, a very great temporary alarm was excited. According to the very candid and intereſting Narrative publiſhed by the biſhop of Killala (Dr. Stock), the French troops, who were under the command of a general Humbert, ſecond in rank to general Hoche in the expedition of December, 1796, to Bantry-Bay, conducted themſelves with the moſt exemplary moderation. They were ſoon joined by ſeveral thouſands of the Iriſh peaſantry, all Catholics; and the French officers expreſſed the utmoſt chagrin and ſurpriſe that the Proteſtants continued, to a man, firm in their attachment to the government. The epiſcopal palace was made the head-quarters; and a green flag was mounted over the gate, with the famous inſcription: —"ERIN GO BRAGH!—Ireland for ever!"

In a few days the invaders, to the number of 1100, leaving a ſmall garriſon at Killala, began their march, with the diſloyal natives whom they had clothed and armed, to Caſtlebar, the chief town of the county of Mayo. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the barbarous Iriſh could be reſtrained from acts of the moſt licentious diſorder. On the 27th general Humbert reached Caſtlebar, where general Lake was poſted, with a force far ſuperior, to intercept him; but, before the weakneſs of the enemy could be aſcertained, the Britiſh troops found themſelves attacked by ſurpriſe; and, after a reſiſtance not very vigorous, were compelled to retreat, with the loſs of 800 men and ten pieces of cannon. Caſtlebar immediately ſurrendered; and the French were ſtrengthened by many deſerters, chiefly from the different regiments of militia.

Lord Cornwallis now determined to take the field in perſon, and, the general diſaffection of the country being known, to proceed with the utmoſt caution and vigilance, leaving nothing to chance or fortune. After the action at Caſtlebar the French had moved, with their whole force, towards Tuam; but the lord-lieutenant, having by this time

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time collected a great army, with which he propoſed to incloſe them on all ſides, general Humbert was obliged to return; and, entertaining from the firſt no hope of ultimate ſucceſs, he made a circuitous march, in order to afford the natives an opportunity of eſcape, which the far greater number embraced. On the morning of the 8th of September, the van-guard of the Britiſh army came up with the rear of the French at Ballinamuck; and, after a ſhort but gallant reſiſtance, the French, being ſummoned to lay down their arms, ſurrendered at diſcretion; but the rebels who remained with them, fleeing in all directions, ſuffered very ſeverely. When the return of the French priſoners was made, the public were ſurpriſed to find that this formidable hoſt amounted to no more, officers included, than the contemptible number of 844. The garriſon left at Killala could make no effectual reſiſtance to the force ſent againſt them; but the natives, in conjunction with the French troops, defended the place with great bravery; and it was at laſt taken ſword in hand. The behaviour of colonel Charoſt, who commanded at Killala, was marked throughout by valor, tempered with honor and humanity. After the re-capture of the biſhop's palace, ſuch was the diſcipline preſerved, that not a ſingle article of private property was found miſſing. Even the ſide-board of plate remained untouched; and when the commandant was applied to, by a popiſh prieſt of ſome pretenſions to literature, for a preſent of books out of the biſhop's library, he replied with diſdain—"The biſhop's library is juſt as much his own now as ever it was."

A ſecond attempt, equally abſurd and unaccountable, was made by the French in the following month; when a ſquadron from Breſt, conſiſting of one ſhip of the line, the Hoche of eighty guns, and eight frigates, were deſcried off the coaſt of Ulſter by admiral Sir John Borlaſe Warren, who commanded a ſquadron of far ſuperior force on that ſtation. At ſeven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of October the action commenced, and at eleven the Hoche, after a gallant defence, ſtruck her flag. Six of the frigates were

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were alſo captured; and thus ended the projects of the French Directory for the conqueſt of Ireland.

Amongſt the priſoners taken in the Hoche was the famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, and the moſt active and able of the agents employed by them abroad. He was brought to Dublin, and tried there by a court-martial. Far from attempting to deny or extenuate his offence, he avowed with the moſt heroic firmneſs the part he had acted, and gloried in the treaſon for which he was arraigned. "Into the ſervice of the French republic," ſaid this virtuous and high-minded, however miſtaken, patriot, "I originally entered with the view of ſerving my country. From that motive I have encountered the toils and terrors of the field of battle; I have braved the dangers of the ſea, covered with the triumphant fleets of the power I oppoſed; I have ſacrificed my proſpects in life; I have courted poverty; I have left my wife unprotected, and my children fatherleſs. After doing this, for what I thought a good cauſe, it is but little that I die for it. In ſuch a cauſe as this ſucceſs is every thing. I have attempted that in which Waſhington ſucceeded and Koſciuſko failed. What awaits me I am aware of, but I ſcorn to ſupplicate or to complain. Whatever I have written, ſpoken, or acted, in relation to this country, and its connexion with Great Britain, which I conceived to be the bane of its proſperity, I here avow, and am now ready to meet the conſequence. Having ſuſtained an high rank in the French ſervice, I only wiſh, if the court poſſeſſes ſuch a diſcretionary power, that they will award me the death of a ſoldier." —After a long pauſe, no doubt of involuntary admiration and regret, he was informed that his requeſt would be ſubmitted to his Excellency. Finding, however, the little probability of ſucceeding in his application, he terminated his life in priſon by an act of violence. As this extraordinary man was the original author, his trial might be conſidered alſo as the laſt concluding ſcene, of this ſhort but bloody rebellion, in which, upon a moderate computation, more than

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than twenty thouſand lives were loſt, and a great part of the kingdom exhibited a horrid ſpectacle of miſery and deſolation. Such are the direful conſequences of civil diſcord! and ſuch the deplorable effects reſulting from the want in government of that ſublime part of wiſdom neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs!

From this important review of domeſtic concerns, it is requiſite to transfer our attention to the military and political tranſactions of the continent.

On the departure of general Buonaparte from Italy, in November, 1797, every thing wore the face of external tranquillity; but the interior agitation of Lombardy, of Rome, of Naples, was ſtill very great. Although the peace of Tolentino had prolonged the political exiſtence of the Holy See, it had been left in a ſtate of extreme embarraſſment. The counter-revolutionary hopes of the Roman pontiff were completely annihilated; three of his provinces irremediably loſt; his coffers exhauſted; his ſubjects, labouring under new and heavy oppreſſions, univerſally diſcontented, and, with few exceptions, divided into the two oppoſite and hoſtile claſſes of political enthuſiaſts and religious fanatics. The king of Spain had conceived great indignation againſt the pope for rejecting the counſels and mediation of his ambaſſador, the chevalier d'Azara, and ordered him to retire to Florence. But, compaſſionating the misfortunes of the holy father, he, after a ſhort interval, not only permitted the ambaſſador to return to Rome, but alſo ſent from Spain a deputation of friendſhip and condolence, conſiſting of the cardinal archbiſhop of Toledo, and the archbiſhops of Seville and Seleucia.

Amongſt the many ſubjects of complaint againſt the government of the pope was his extravagant fondneſs for his nephews, the cardinal and duke of Braſchi; the latter of whom had long been loaded with the ſpoils and execrations of the people, whoſe curſes were now become loud as well

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as deep. Inſurrectionary placards were ſtuck up at his palace; French airs were ſung in public; and the political demiſe of the Holy See was mentioned without ſcruple, as an event which might ſoon be expected to take place, and as already in the act of receiving *extreme unction*. On the other hand, for all which was wanting in eſteem or affection, the court of Rome endeavoured to compenſate in fear. The garriſon of St. Angelo was augmented—troops were quartered in the city—the ſyſtem of *eſpionage* became univerſal, and many of the inhabitants were arreſted and impriſoned on different grounds of ſuſpicion. The pope himſelf could not appear in public without receiving marks of the general contempt, not to ſay hatred, entertained for his perſon and government. In this diſtracted ſituation of affairs Joſeph Buonaparte, brother of the general, entered Rome as ambaſſador from the French republic. The conduct of this miniſter is allowed by all to have been mild and judicious. In conſequence of his influence over the papal counſels, the perſons impriſoned for their political opinions were releaſed; the Auſtrian general Provera was diſmiſſed; and the holy father recogniſed the new Ciſalpine republic. Alſo an act of grace paſſed for the pardon of all offences. But the ambaſſador diſcouraged in the moſt deciſive manner all the overtures made to him for the ſubverſion of the papal government.—Nevertheleſs, on the 28th of December, a popular inſurrection took place; and the inſurgents entering forcibly into the courts of the ambaſſador's palace, made them re-echo with the cry of The Roman republic! and The Roman people!—demanding the aid of the French in order to aſſure their liberty. The ambaſſador appearing with the inſignia of his office, attended by the generals Duphot and Sherlock, remonſtrated with the inſurgents on the folly and raſhneſs of their conduct, and commanded them forthwith to diſperſe. In the mean time an armed force, ſent by the governor of the city, arrived at the palace, and a party of cavalry diſcharged their carbines

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upon the inſurgents. M. Buonaparte, immediately advancing, demanded by what authority they had violated his juriſdiction? when a ſecond diſcharge killed ſeveral perſons in the rear of the ambaſſador and his train. The French miniſter now conjured the ſoldiery to withdraw; engaging that the delinquents ſhould be delivered up and puniſhed. Regardleſs of this repreſentation, they were preparing for another diſcharge, which general Duphot ruſhing forward to prevent, a ſcene of the greateſt confuſion enſued, and the general was mortally wounded by a fuſileer, who fired the contents of his muſquet into his body. The ambaſſador immediately retreated, not without hazard and difficulty, through a private paſſage, into the gardens of his palace, the courts of which were now ſtrewed with the killed and wounded bodies of the inſurgents.

In conſequence of this atrocious outrage the French miniſter withdrew with indignation from Rome, and retired to Florence. The holy father, who was ſaid to be ignorant of the whole tranſaction, after imploring in vain the mediation of the chevalier d'Azara, ordered his ſecretary of ſtate, cardinal Doria, to write to the marquis Maſſimi, the Roman miniſter at Paris, in the following terms: "You muſt not offer any ſatisfaction for this event, which has rendered the holy father and all of us inconſolable; but you muſt entreat the Directory to point out what ſatisfaction they require. To aſk it and to obtain it ſhall be the ſame thing."

On the 17th of January, 1798, before any anſwer could be returned, the pope appointed a ſolemn proceſſion of the three moſt celebrated relics in Rome; and in the proclamation publiſhed on this occaſion, the pontiff thus expreſſed and expoſed his weakneſs:—"Your faith ſhall be animated by the ſight of ſacred and holy objects, which the clergy ſhall conduct with devout pomp through the ſtreets to St. Peter's, expoſing to public veneration for ſeveral days on the high altar the venerable, moſt antient, and wonderful

ful portrait of the moſt holy Saviour—alſo the miraculous picture of the Santa Maria in portico—and the ſacred chains wherewith the prince of the apoſtles was fettered. To any one, who in the aforeſaid days ſhall viſit St. Peter's, reciting before the above-mentioned ſacred monuments the prayer beginning *Ante oculos tuos, Domine! &c.* or, in lieu of it, will repeat ten times the Pater-noſter and the Ave Maria, praying as above, his holineſs grants for each time, in each day, an indulgence for ten years and forty days."*

Previous to the proceſſion the ſtreets were ſtrewed with flowers and myrtles; all the religious orders, in their reſpective habits, and the cardinals, followed, with an immenſe concourſe of people, many of the firſt diſtinction, bare-foot. Theſe ineſtimable relics remained for three weeks on the high altar of St. Peter's, and were then exhibited in the churches of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Giovanni in Laterano. During this interval Rome appeared particularly gay, all perſons being dreſſed in their richeſt habiliments; ſo that the city had rather the appearance of a carnival than of a mourning penance to avert its fall.†

Meanwhile the French and Ciſalpine armies were advancing with rapid ſteps under the command of general Berthier. The march was nothing more than a military proceſſion;

* The portrait of the moſt holy Saviour here mentioned, and ſuppoſed to have been painted by ſupernatural agency, was known by the appellation of *Il Santo Volto*. It had not been publickly exhibited ſince the year 1709, after a terrible earthquake.

† *Vide* 'Narrative of Duppa.' It is impoſſible to read the papal proclamation upon this occaſion without emotions of indignant contempt. "The nations of Europe," ſays Mr. Burke, (Regicide Peace) "have the very ſame Chriſtian religion, agreeing in the fundamental parts, varying a little in the ceremonies and in the ſubordinate doctrines." It might certainly with as much plauſibility be affirmed, that the profeſſors of rational and genuine Chriſtianity agree with the Mufti of Conſtantinople, or the Grand Lama of Tartary, in their religion, as with the pope of Rome, whoſe claims are indeed the moſt impious and impudent of the three.

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for where no reſiſtance was offered, no force was neceſſary to be exerted. On his entrance into Rome, February 10th, the general declared, by a proclamation, that he came to puniſh the murderers of Duphot, and that the people of Rome ſhould find in the French army protectors and friends. This language was no longer calculated to deceive. The caſtle of St. Angelo was immediately ſummoned; and the pope and cardinals, who had there taken refuge, ſurrendered at diſcretion; three only having previouſly provided for their eſcape---the cardinal nephew Braſchi, York, and Albani.

On the 15th of the ſame month, the people of Rome, or that part of them at leaſt which had imbibed the revolutionary ſpirit, made a general inſurrectionary movement, unattended, however, with acts of violence, and proceeded to plant the tree of liberty in the Capitol. Till this moment, general Berthier had choſen to remain with his army encamped without the walls of the city. As a laſt effort, the pontiff ſent a deputation at this criſis to the general, offering provinces upon provinces, and millions upon millions, with the utmoſt profuſion, as the price of his political reſtoration: but the general refuſed with diſdain to receive any deputation or meſſage but from the Roman people. Intelligence of the late glorious event being received nearly at the ſame time, the general accepted the invitation given him to accompany the people in ſolemn proceſſion to the Capitol, to ſanction, by his preſence, the revolution which had taken place. Preceded by military muſic and detachments of horſe and foot, general Berthier accordingly traverſed Rome amidſt an immenſe crowd of people, gazing with anxious curioſity, and ſtill uncertain of their fate.

The reſtoration of the Roman republic being formally proclaimed, the general made the following ſpeech:—"Manes of Cato, of Pompey, and of Brutus! of Cicero, and of Hortenſius! accept the homage of the French! become

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come free in the Capitol where you have ſo often defended the rights of the people, and added new glories to the Roman republic! The deſcendants of the Gauls, with the olive in their hand, now repair to this auguſt ſpot to reeſtabliſh the altars of liberty erected by the Elder Brutus. ---And you, people of Rome! who have regained your lawful rights, call to remembrance the monuments of glory that ſurround you;---reſume your antient greatneſs, and emulate the virtues of your anceſtors!"

Inſtead of loud acclamations, as might have been expected, this ſpeech, and the proclamation which preceded it, were heard in profound ſilence.

During this ceremony the pope was celebrating maſs in the Siſtine chapel, it being the anniverſary of his acceſſion; in the midſt of which Haller, the French commiſſary general, entered the chapel, and announced to the ſovereign pontiff that his reign was at an end. A proviſional government was ſubſtituted, under the popular appellation of a conſulate, conſiſting of ſix members—of which Rigault, a lawyer of eminence, was named preſident. The preſence of the holy father was judged by the newly-erected government to be incompatible with the tranquillity of the ſtate. Early therefore on the morning of the 20th of February he left Rome, and ſoon after arrived at Sienna, where he was received into the monaſtery of St. Barbe---the monks ſorrowfully welcoming him at their gates, and offering all that their convent could beſtow, to conſole him for his fallen honors. On the 26th he reached Florence, retiring to a Carthuſian convent within two miles of that city; where he ſeemed, in a beautiful and ſequeſtered reſidence, to forget his misfortunes; and found in his ſolitude an unwonted and dignified tranquillity, which commanded reſpect, and even approached to happineſs. Nor could it be deemed wonderful, however exceptionable ſome parts of his conduct, that he was unable to weather the ſtorm,

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in which the bark of St. Peter would have ſunk with a pilot much abler than himſelf.

The temporal power entruſted by the French general to the proviſionary government was at length confirmed by a regular conſtitution, made at Paris, on the model of the French; but in which the names of conſuls, ſenate, tribunes, quæſtors, and other claſſic titles, ſuperſeded the vulgar appellations of commiſſioners and councils. But the real power was, under this ſpecious veil of liberty, veſted in the French commander, to whom an expreſs clauſe of the new conſtitution allowed a *veto* in the formation of laws for ten years.

By the thoughtleſs prodigality of the papal government, and the recent exactions of the French, every legitimate ſource of wealth was exhauſted: recourſe was therefore had, without heſitation, by the *protectors* of the new republic, to every ſpecies of pillage and plunder. The Vatican and Quirinal palaces were ſtripped of the rich and coſtly furniture—and the former even of a great part of its literary treaſures: alſo thoſe at Monte Cavallo, Terracina, and Caſtel Gandolfo. The ſacerdotal veſtments of the Siſtine, Pauline, and other pontifical chapels, were burnt for the gold and ſilver of the embroidery. And this ſyſtem of devaſtation extended to the generality of the churches, and ſome noble manſions of obnoxious individuals. The Villa Albani in particular, unrivalled for exquiſite works of art and the beauty of its ſituation and architecture, was laid in ruins—a melancholy monument of the Vandaliſm of the eighteenth century. Yet was the conduct of the French troops, both officers and men, to the inhabitants in general, orderly and exemplary; and private property and perſonal liberty were reſpected in a degree which ſeems ſcarcely compatible with their public rapacity. And in the ſyſtem of police now enforced a ſtriking contraſt was exhibited to the feeble yet direful dominion of Pius VI. under whoſe reign each individual became the arbiter of his own wrong,

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and in whoſe pontificate it was reckoned that 18,000 perſons were murdered in public and private quarrels in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate alone.

On the 20th of March the ceremony of the inauguration of the new government was performed in the middle of the great piazza of St. Peter's. The conſuls, ſtretching out their hands over the altar there erected, ſwore eternal hatred to monarchy, and fidelity to the republic. This ſolemn tranſaction was accompanied with bands of muſic and the firing of cannon, and at night the dome of St. Peter's was illuminated: but there was no ſhouting, no voluntary marks either of approbation or diſapprobation. The people of Rome had loſt every idea of liberty, and appeared to regard themſelves as mere ſpectators of the ſcene, and to feel no emotion beyond that of ſtupid and ignorant ſurpriſe.*

The next victim ſingled out by the rapacity of the directorial government of France was the antient and celebrated republic of the Helvetic confederacy. The name of Switzerland cannot be pronounced without emotion by thoſe who have witneſſed the happy effects of the rude and imperfect ſyſtem of liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants of this ſecluded country, when compared with the oppreſſion and miſery reſulting from the horrid deſpotiſm by which ſhe was every-where ſurrounded: "La habite," ſays an elegant writer, M. de Mehegan, "d'un peuple ſimple, bienfaiſant, brave, ennemi du faſte, ami du travail, ne cherchant point d'eſclaves, et ne voulant point des maîtres."

On a ſurvey of the conſtitutions of the ſeveral ſtates which compoſed the Helvetic union, itſelf founded on the right of reſiſtance to tyranny, it muſt excite no little ſurpriſe to find that the government of the greater cantons, whether Catholic or Proteſtant, was that of ariſtocracy, tempered and moderated indeed by a partial repreſentation at Zurich; but at Berne, Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, without

* *Vide* DUPPA's Account of the Subverſion of the Papal Government.

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without the ſmalleſt mixture of democracy. On the other hand it is equally remarkable, that the ſmaller cantons, Glaris, Schweitz, Underwalden, Appenzel, Uri, and Zug, were democratic, without the ſlighteſt mixture of ariſtocracy—Baſle and Schaffhauſen alone of this claſs inclining to the conſtitution of Zurich. In the cantons purely democratic the inhabitants at large met annually in an open field or plain to chooſe their magiſtrates; and the queſtion was then put publicly to them, whether they choſe to continue for another year the laws of their canton?

This political intermixture of the different cantons was extremely conducive to the happineſs of the whole: and although the governments of the greater cantons were in themſelves unfavourable, the eſtabliſhed laws, manners, and cuſtoms of the country, were decidedly favorable to civil freedom. The ariſtocratical canton of Berne in particular, by far the largeſt and moſt powerful of the union, governing its ſubjects with paternal mildneſs and wiſdom, the general effect produced was the public happineſs; and the people felt themſelves ſecure in perſon and in property. They were therefore content and ſatisfied, wiſhing not for changes, nor thinking of reforms. The juſt and moderate ſpirit of government, by gaining the affections of the people, ſtrengthened the barriers of their own authority, and erected the image of a free conſtitution on the incongruous baſis of political deſpotiſm. "The magiſtrates of Berne," ſays a celebrated writer, "*muſt* reign with prudence and equity, ſince they are unarmed in the midſt of an armed nation." *

At the commencement of the French revolution the attention of all countries, and particularly of thoſe which bordered upon France, were turned to the ſubject of government; and in Switzerland above all others—the inhabitants of which were aſtoniſhed on reflection, to find that they

* GIBBON.—*Vide* alſo COXE's Travels, and WOOD's Hiſtory of Switzerland, &c. &c.

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they had ſo long ſubmitted, and ſo tamely, to ſuch defective forms of government. The ariſtocracy of Berne now began to feel its own weakneſs; but, far from introducing ſome voluntary and ſeaſonable melioration of their own deſpotic conſtitution, they exerted every poſſible effort to cruſh in their birth thoſe new principles of liberty which, however abuſed in practice, muſt ever be acknowledged in theory beautiful and juſt. "It is certain," ſays a writer of great authority on this point, "that the republic of Berne thinks itſelf obliged to a vigilance next to hoſtile, and to impriſon or expel all the French whom they find in their territories."* This being the caſe, it would naturally follow that the French government muſt regard that of Berne with an eye no leſs jealous and reſentful; and ſymptoms of this reciprocal animoſity in a very ſhort time began to manifeſt themſelves.

In the autumn of 1789 ſeveral literary and ſcientific ſocieties eſtabliſhed at Berne, Lauſanne, Baſle, &c. tranſmitted congratulatory addreſſes to the French Convention upon the attainment of the national liberty: and in the ſimilar ſocieties of Zurich and Lucerne a very revolutionary ſpirit early diſplayed itſelf, which required the utmoſt wiſdom to regulate, as it was impoſſible in the nature of things it could in the actual circumſtances be extinguiſhed. They had recently ſeen the natural and unalienable rights of man formally and publicly recogniſed by the moſt powerful nation upon earth---a nation with which their own was cloſely connected by contiguity and alliance; and, as is forcibly obſerved by a celebrated writer, "the formal recognition by the ſovereign power of an original right in the ſubject can never be ſubverted, but by rooting up the radical principles of government, and even of ſociety itſelf."†

In

* Burke's Memorial on the State of Affairs, 1791.

† Burke's Speech on the India Bill.

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In no part of the Helvetic territory had the revolutionary principles of France made greater progreſs than in the Pays-de-Vaud, a diſtrict ſubject to the government of Berne: Lauſanne, the capital of this delightful province, being the chief reſort of intelligent ſtrangers, and famous for the liberality and urbanity of its inhabitants. On the 14th of July, 1791, the anniverſary of the French revolution was commemorated with great demonſtrations of joy all over the Pays-de-Vaud and the neighbouring diſtricts: patriotic toaſts were drunk, French airs were ſung, and the enſigns of liberty paraded with univerſal acclamation. The government of Berne, which trembled with rage and fear at the rapid diffuſion of theſe ſentiments, now at laſt, in an evil hour, reſolved to interpoſe its ſovereign authority, in order to counteract this great and growing miſchief. A ſpecial tribunal was ſent into the Pays-de-Vaud, under the protection of 2,000 ſoldiers, commanded by general d'Erlach, well known as an high and arbitrary ariſtocrat, with fifteen pieces of cannon. The troops took up their reſidence at Lauſanne—the church of St. Francis, the hoſpital, the college, and the public granaries, being all turned into barracks. In order to ſtrike terror into the inhabitants, two cannons, with lighted matches, were planted in the market-place. Other troops were ſtationed in different parts of the province, and the whole country was laid under military ſubjection.

The high court having opened its commiſſion, two of the principal citizens, Roſel and Muller de la Mothe, were tried, and ſentenced to no leſs than twenty-five years' impriſonment to the dungeons of Meudon. Others to inferior penalties. But the proſecution which, beyond all others, excited the greateſt aſtoniſhment and indignation was that of M. de la Harpe, baron of Yens, a man of the firſt property and influence in the province, whoſe talents were of the higheſt claſs, and whoſe character was ſuch as made him the object of univerſal eſteem and reverence. This

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This diſtinguiſhed perſon, finding that it was intended to proceed againſt him with great ſeverity, and for no other offence than that of having joined conſpicuouſly in the celebration of the late anniverſary, ſeaſonably withdrew to Geneva, whence he wrote to the judges of the new tribunal, " that having received the moſt preſſing warnings of his danger, he had thought it neceſſary to take this ſtep; but that he was ready to appear before the court as ſoon as he had ſatisfactory aſſurance that his caſe would be impartially inveſtigated." After being twice ſummoned, he was, on his non-appearance, accuſed of high treaſon; and, being condemned by the court, he was ſentenced to be beheaded, and his property was confiſcated to the benefit of the ſtate. Such were the meaſures adopted by the government of Berne, and enforced by others of a like tendency in the other ariſtocratic cantons, to demonſtrate how ill-founded were the ideas of thoſe who aimed at a melioration of the exiſting conſtitution of Switzerland. In April, 1792, the celebrated Gibbon returning to Lauſanne, after a temporary and not very long abſence, ſays, " I never knew any place ſo much changed as Lauſanne. Some are taken up, ſeveral are fled, many more are ſuſpected and ſuſpicious. All are ſilent; but it is the ſilence of fear and diſcontent."

The virtuous and gallant La Harpe, thus caſt off by his country, of which he was the ornament, and would have been, if needful, the defender, retired into France, and obtained an honorable command in the French army, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the courſe of five ſucceſſive years no leſs by his conduct than his courage. He fell in the ſpring of 1796, at an early period of the firſt Italian campaign of Buonaparte. His death overwhelmed the army with the deepeſt ſorrow; and the conqueror of Italy, in his relation of it to the Directory, declared " that the republic had loſt one of its moſt faithful citizens and braveſt generals, and every

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every ſoldier a comrade, who was as bold in the action as he was in diſcipline ſevere."

Notwithſtanding the meaſures of precaution taken by the ariſtocracies of Switzerland, or rather in conſequence of thoſe meaſures, the ſpirit of political diſcontent increaſed to general and rooted diſaffection throughout all the Proteſtant branches of the confederacy. For it is remarkable that, in the Catholic democracies of the union, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug, the ſpirit of religious bigotry, diligently and continually foſtered by the prieſts, completely predominated at this criſis over that of civil liberty; and the French were, by the ignorant peaſantry of theſe petty ſtates, regarded with deteſtation, as heretics, infidels, and atheiſts:—and in the full enjoyment of liberty themſelves, they did not ſeem to entertain a wiſh that it ſhould, or an idea that it ought, to be extended beyond their own narrow and contracted limits.

Upon the declaration of war between Auſtria and France, this difference of ſentiment ſtrikingly appeared—the Proteſtant free and democratic cantons ſhewing a marked predilection for the intereſts of the Gallic republic, while the Catholics evinced the utmoſt averſion to the new order of things in France, and even permitted the officers of Auſtria publicly to raiſe recruits in their towns and villages. The government of Berne, animated by the ſame ſpirit upon this grand topic of controverſy, countenanced and encouraged the obnoxious proceedings of the Catholic cantons, and excited incurable jealouſy on the part of France, by marching, at the period of the duke of Brunſwic's invaſion, a formidable military force to the French frontier.

The neighbouring republic of the Griſons alſo, though Proteſtant and democratic, ſhewed themſelves on various occaſions very inimical to the French. But of the political tranſactions of this rude and uncultivated people the detail would be tedious and uninſtructive. For ſeveral years the general ſtate of things altered little in Switzerland, only it

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was perceivable that the two oppoſing parties became more and more hoſtile, and the probability proportionally increaſed of ſome violent, bloody, and terrific cataſtrophe.

The fertile diſtrict of the Valteline, divided from the Helvetic territory by a high range of mountains, and properly a part of Lombardy, had been long ſubject to the tyranny of the Griſons. On the eſtabliſhment of the Ciſalpine republic, in the ſummer of 1797, the inhabitants of this province, indignant at the oppreſſion they ſuffered, roſe with one accord, drove away the Griſon magiſtrates, and declared themſelves free and independent. Both parties appealed to the deciſion of the French government; and, the cauſe being referred to general Buonaparte, a day was appointed for the determination of it, when the Valteline deputies appeared in readineſs to ſuſtain their claims; but the Griſon government, for what reaſons cannot be aſcertained, omitted to ſupport their pretenſions in the ſame manner:—in conſequence of which general Buonaparte declared in favor of the revolters, and they were immediately received into the union of the Ciſalpine republic.

Towards the concluſion of the ſummer of 1797, the French government having now terminated the war on the continent, reſolved to avenge the inſults and injuries which they either had, or pretended to have, received from the Swiſs republic; and in order to afford a ſure pretext for bringing matters to extremity, the following demands were made upon the confederacy by the French Directory. 1. The free navigation of the Lake of Lugano for their ally the Ciſalpine republic. 2. A paſſage for 25,000 men through the Vallais, for general Buonaparte's army. 3. The diſmiſſion of Mr. Wickham, the Engliſh envoy at Berne, from the Helvetic territory—he having been, as was alleged, deeply engaged in all the plots and intrigues which had been perpetually carrying on againſt them in Switzerland. 4. The redreſs of certain ſpecific meaſures inimical to the French republic; chiefly thoſe of the government of Berne; which, as the Directory affirmed, had

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had publicly enrolled emigrants, and given ſhelter to French requiſitionaries and deſerters.

On the firſt notice of this hoſtile memorial, the court of London ordered the envoy Wickham to quit the territories of the republic, not chooſing to hazard a formal diſmiſſion. And an Helvetic Diet was ſummoned at Arau for the profeſſed purpoſe of compoſing the differences between the two countries. After paſſing a month in fruitleſs debate, this aſſembly at length decreed the levy of the double contingent, amounting to 26,000 men; but the inhabitants of the generality of the cantons ſhewed an inſuperable averſion to the ſervice; and while the levy proceeded ſlowly and heavily, the French appeared in force, under general Menard, on the Genevan frontier. The whole of the Pays-de-Vaud, a great part of Berne, and the entire canton of Baſle, were at once in a ſtate of inſurrection; and general Weiſs, who was entruſted by the governments of Berne and Friburg with the command of their army, was compelled to retreat with precipitation towards Berne; and general Menard, marching forward, proclaimed to the Vaudois—peace, liberty, and fraternity.

On the return of general Weiſs, a man of ſenſe and moderation, to Berne, he repreſented to the ſenate the utter impoſſibility of making any effectual reſiſtance againſt the arms of France, thus ſtrengthened and ſupported by the ſpirit of diſſaffection. On the 13th of February, 1798, therefore, the Berneſe government came to a late and reluctant reſolution to ſend an embaſſy to the Directory, ſignifying "that they held it a ſacred duty to declare their earneſt wiſhes for peace with the French nation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the accuſtomed relations of amity and kindneſs; and that they will be ready to accommodate every point in diſpute, as far as it can be done without injury to the independence of a free people."

To this humiliating meſſage the Directory deigned not to return any anſwer; but, through the medium of citizen Mengaud, their envoy in Switzerland, ſpecified the conditions

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tions on which the former amity of the two nations might yet be reſtored:—1. That the canton of Berne ſhould diſmiſs its antient magiſtrates, and ſuppreſs its ſecret council and councils of war. 2. Until a new form of government ſhall be organized, a proviſional one, founded on democratic principles, and excluding all the members of the antient government, ſhall be inſtituted. 3. The liberty of the preſs ſhall be immediately eſtabliſhed. 4. All perſons, Swiſs or others, proſecuted on account of their political opinion, or of their refuſal to march againſt the French, ſhall be indemnified.

On the receipt of this meſſage the government of Berne, ſenſible too late of the folly of its former policy, but gathering courage from deſpair, reſolved, after a violent ſtruggle in the ſenate between the ariſtocrates, headed by the advoyer Steiguer and the general d'Erlach, and the moderates, ſupported by general Weiſs, to declare to M. Mengaud, "that they never would open negotiations upon ſuch demands as were contained in his meſſage, and that they were determined not to permit any foreign power to proſcribe a conſtitution to them." To enforce this reſolution, general Weiſs was ſuperſeded in his military command, which was conferred on his rival general d'Erlach. At this period general Brune arrived, and put himſelf at the head of the French army. Being in expectation of powerful reinforcements, he propoſed an armiſtice of eight days for the accommodation of differences; which was, without difficulty, acceded to on the part of the Berneſe, who deſired only that each canton ſhould remain free, to effect, according to its will, a change in its own government, without the interference of any foreign power.

In this interval the moderates, whoſe councils were overruled, having quitted their ſeats in the ſenate, the violent or jacobin party gained temporary aſcendancy; and many of the ariſtocrats, from baſe and perſonal motives, terrified or bribed, joined in a formal abdication of their own power, and the appointment of a proviſional adminiſtration, of which

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which the jacobins Tiller and Bay, with their aſſociates, were the principal members. The advoyer Steiguer, would however take no part in this degrading tranſaction; but, with a heart bleeding for the fate of his country, reſigned, in mournful and indignant ſilence, the inſignia of his authority.

Previous to the expiration of the armiſtice, infractions of which were alleged on both ſides, general Brune attacked the town of Friburg, and, notwithſtanding a bloody reſiſtance, carried it by aſſault; and general Schawenburg, after defeating the troops of the canton, entered nearly at the ſame time the capital of Soleure. A ſummons was ſent to Berne itſelf to open its gates to the French army. Such were the internal diſtractions by which this unhappy city was agitated, and as it were torn aſunder, and ſuch the indignation excited by the inſolence of general Brune, who, in addition to his former demands, now required that Berne ſhould receive a French garriſon, that the propoſition of the new adminiſtrative government to capitulate to the enemy was rejected, and the people loudly called for arms. Orders were therefore iſſued, in a moment of deſperation rather than of courage, to general d'Erlach, to prepare for immediate hoſtilities. The Berneſe, to the number of 18,000, took the field; but the two armies under the generals Brune and and Schawenburg, having effected a junction, amounted to 50,000 men, followed by an immenſe train of artillery. Nevertheleſs the troops of the canton ſeemed reſolutely determined to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. The ſpirit of reſiſtance to the French was not now confined to thoſe who had ever been inveterate enemies to the revolution, but had diffuſed itſelf widely amongſt the moderates, the real patriots and genuine friends of their country.

During the armiſtice, the council of Berne, ſeeing the ſtorm of revolution gathering around them, had convoked the deputies of the communes to take part in their deliberations

tions. The result of this laudable measure was a proclamation issued in their joint names, declaratory of their resolution to make such changes in the constitution of the government as the good of the country should require. And more particularly, that, in the space of a month, a commission should be established to propose the plan of a more perfect constitution, of which the equal representation of the people should be the basis: that all places in the administration and public employments in general should be accessible to every citizen, according to their respective merits: and that a constitution on this plan should be proposed in the space of twelve months for the approbation of the people; a provisional government being in the mean time appointed for the execution of the necessary functions of government. In Zurich also an actual amelioration of the government took place; and the regencies of the cantons of Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Soleure, and Friburg, issued proclamations similar to those of Berne.

Had the French Directory therefore been actuated by laudable or really patriotic views, they would have testified their satisfaction with the concessions now made; they would have withdrawn their troops from the Swiss territory; and have contented themselves with acting in future, between the respective governments and the people at large, the noble and generous part of a common mediator and friend. But the general tenor of their conduct afforded no ground for any such hopes. In the present exigency, the Bernese, apparently abandoned by their confederates, whose contingents had been vainly demanded, were left almost entirely to their own unassisted efforts: and the authority of government, amid the conflict of factions, being well-nigh annihilated, the real force of this single but powerful canton was far from being fully exerted. General d'Erlach took a strong position about three leagues from Berne, near the village of Frauenbrun, where, on the morning of the 5th of March, he was attacked with a force more than double

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to that which he commanded, by the generals Brune and Schawenburg, throughout the whole extent of his line. The combat laſted ſeveral hours, and the Swiſs yielded not the field of battle till they had made and ſuffered a dreadful carnage. Slowly retreating from poſt to poſt, they relinquiſhed none without a new and deſperate conflict; but the heroic bravery of this unfortunate army was of no avail againſt the ſuperior force and irreſiſtible artillery of the French; and, after loſing half their numbers, the remainder were at length compelled, in the utmoſt confuſion, to ſeek for refuge in the mountains of Thun. The bridge over the river Aar leading to Berne being forced, the government capitulated, and the city was happily reſcued from the horrors of an aſſault.

Furious at their defeat, the Swiſs ſoldiery turned their rage upon their own officers, whom they charged with involving them in this misfortune by their treachery or miſconduct; and ſeveral were ſacrificed to their blind and brutal rage. The general d'Erlach and the advoyer Steiguer, who had aſſumed the ſword on laying down the gown, left the army ſecretly: the latter, traverſing the lake of Thun and the mountains of Underwalden, reached the Auſtrian dominions in ſafety; but the former, having been diſcovered in his flight, was ſeized on by the peaſants and ſavagely murdered. An opinion being very prevalent amongſt the inhabitants of the canton that theſe two perſons had contributed beyond all others to the calamities of their country, the violent death of the one was leſs lamented than the fortunate eſcape of the other.

The oligarchy of Berne was now annihilated, the Berneſe army was deſtroyed or diſperſed, and the French profeſſed to come in the character of protectors and deliverers; yet the public treaſury of Berne, the ſtores, the arſenal, the cannon, and all the property of the ſtate, was without ſcruple confiſcated to the uſe of "the great nation."—excluſive

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of the heavy contributions levied throughout almoſt the whole extent of Switzerland.

After a ſhort interval, a general convention was ſummoned to meet at Arau, in order to form a republican conſtitution for, or rather to force a conſtitution upon, the Thirteen Cantons, on the model of that of France, one and indiviſible. But here a new ſpirit of oppoſition and reſiſtance diſplayed itſelf. While the inhabitants of the great ariſtocratical cantons, Catholic and Proteſtant, acceded with little difficulty to this propoſition, deputies from the ſmall democratic cantons of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, which were paſſionately attached to their exiſting forms of government, aſſembling at Brennen, ſent a declaration of their ſentiments to general Brune, ſtating, "that the conſtitution of their government had been for many ages a democracy, founded upon the ſovereignty of the people and the rights of man; that they poſſeſſed nothing but their religion, their liberty, and their flocks, which they hoped the French nation would permit them to enjoy in peace, engaging on their ſide never to take up arms againſt it."

A mild anſwer was returned by general Brune, aſſuring them of the continuance of the friendſhip of the French, and requeſting, rather than demanding, their aſſent to the new conſtitution. This occaſioned a ſecond meeting of the congreſs at Brennen, in which it was finally determined that their preſent government ſhould be defended againſt whatever attack ſhould be made upon it. Unlike the feveriſh and tranſitory reſolutions of the ariſtocracy of Berne in its expiring agonies, this was the firm, ſteady, and unanimous determination of a people devoted to the cauſe of democratic freedom—productive, beyond all other cauſes, of great and wonderful effects.

General Schawenburg, who ſucceeded general Brune at this period in the chief command, now, therefore, led his

troops (April 1798), to this odious conteſt, againſt the combined army of the democratic cantons, which was compoſed of the hardy deſcendants of thoſe brave patriots who had in antient times reſiſted, with ſuch glorious ſucceſs, the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria. Taking a very ſtrong poſition amid their native mountains near the lake of Zug, under the command of general Paravicini, a man not deſtitute of experience or talents, they awaited without fear the attack of the French, who were much ſuperior to them in numbers. After engaging with great fury and equal advantage for ſome time, Paravicini ordered a feigned retreat, and drew the French with great ſkill into an ambuſh which he had dextrouſly planted behind a moraſs; and being thus unexpectedly taken both in flank and rear, they made a precipitate retreat, with the loſs of ſeveral thouſand men.

In the other engagements which took place in this rough and rugged country, the French could obtain no laurels; and being perhaps a little reluctant to purſue to extremity a war of this nature, a negotiation was ſet on foot, in which the united cantons obtained the following very honourable terms:—1ſt. That no French troops ſhould enter their territory. 2d. That no contributions ſhould be levied upon them. 3d. That, in accepting the new conſtitution, they would reſerve to themſelves the arrangement of their interior adminiſtration.

It is nevertheleſs grievous to relate, that Underwalden obſtinately refuſing to ratify this agreement, rejecting peremptorily the amicable overtures repeatedly made,—and as if they felt themelves contaminated by the correſpondence, at length returning the letters ſent them without breaking the ſeal,—the French at the latter end of the ſummer marched a ſecond army into that canton: and the men of Underwalden aſſembling their entire force, aided by divers corps of volunteers from the neighbouring diſtricts, one unconquerable ſpirit animating the whole, a moſt memorable battle was fought on the 8th and 9th of September, on the ſhores of the

the lake of Lucerne, near the town of Standtz, in which prodigies of valor were performed by these genuine sons of freedom. On the first of these days no impression could be made by the French; and upon the second the battle was renewed with redoubled fury. On one side were skill, discipline, and far superior numbers; upon the other, the enthusiasm of religion, and the inextinguishable ardor of patriotism. In courage, neither could boast the superiority—every individual was an hero. For a time the bayonet of the soldier seemed a feeble weapon compared with the massy club of the mountaineer; and the artillery of the French was almost silenced by the vast fragments of rock rolled down from the apparently-inaccessible heights above them. Women and children rushed undaunted upon the invaders. No advance was made but over the bodies of the slain; and the day closed before the battle was decided. At length, destroyed rather than defeated, the shattered remains of the Swiss army, under covert of the increasing darkness, took refuge in the town of Standtz, which was carried by storm, and in a moment converted into a scene of carnage and desolation. The beautiful valley of Standtz, seated at the base of lofty mountains on whose summits winter holds eternal reign, was laid entirely waste, the houses of the inhabitants burnt, the churches demolished, and all who were found in arms exterminated without mercy.

The monstrous contrast between the principles and practices of the French appears in no instance perhaps so striking as in this, where, with the name of freedom on their lips, they imbrued their sacrilegious hands in the blood of those who had for ages inhabited these hallowed and sequestered haunts, where LIBERTY, banished from kingdoms and empires, had been received with rustic and pastoral honors, thenceforth making this simple but sublime temple of Nature her chosen and favorite abode.

To pursue the progress of French rapacity and tyranny, as exercised by the profligate instruments of the French directors, Mengaud and Rapinat, would be foreign to the purpose

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poſe of this hiſtory: it muſt ſuffice to mention, that the new conſtitution, upon the French model, was at length adopted by all the Helvetic States—Lucerne being fixed upon as the ſeat of government; and that a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was ſubſequently concluded between the Gallic and Helvetic republics, nominally at leaſt, on terms of equality and reciprocal advantage.

It is proper to add, that, in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, the city of Geneva, which had been within the ſpace of a few years the ſcene of a ſucceſſion of revolutions, was at length united, probably for ever, to the French republic—being formed into the capital of a department, under the name of the department of the Lake of Leman.

Notwithſtanding the deſpotic authority exerciſed by the directors ſince the revolution of Fructidor, the election of the new third in the legiſlative aſſembly, during the ſpring of the preſent year, was very oppoſite to their views and wiſhes. They ſent, in conſequence, a meſſage to the Council of Five Hundred, complaining of the exiſtence of an anarchical conſpiracy to make the primary and elective aſſemblies the nurſeries of future plots, and expreſſing their hopes that the council would not permit men loaded with every crime to ſit in the legiſlature.

An obſequious committee was immediately appointed to make a report upon this meſſage, which was brought up on the 7th of May. It ſtated the neceſſity of excluding from the legiſlature the partizans of the two great factions which agitated the republic—the anarchiſts, and the royaliſts. And a decree was forthwith framed, annulling the elections of ſeveral departments *in toto*, beſides thoſe of very many individuals. The control of the preſs was alſo, with equal ſervility, continued for another year.

About the ſame period the negotiator Treilhard was choſen to ſucceed Francis de Neufchâteau, who was the director deſtined to vacate his lot.

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The war department had been filled with equal incapacity and profligacy, ſince the 18th of Fructidor, by general Scherer, a near relation of the director Rewbel; and every other department in the ſtate exhibited a ſimilar portrait of inability and rapacity:—ſo that the directorial government became both odious and contemptible to all deſcriptions of perſons throughout the nation; and the more the Directory multiplied their tyrannical precautions, the more they enhanced the number of their enemies, and the imminence of their danger.

Holland, which, by a wiſe and ſingular policy adopted at the period of the conqueſt of that country by France, and ſince not materially violated, had been left in a very great meaſure to take care of its own concerns, now became the ſcene of ſome revolutionary movements. "No proſcription, no popular crime, had ſtained the tranquil ſubverſion of its antient government. It had only to bear the reſidence and maintenance of 24,000 Frenchmen, whoſe number was never effective, and whoſe conduct in general did not excite complaints."* A ſuſpicion had been, however, for ſome time, entertained in both countries that the zeal diſplayed by ſome members of the Batavian convention for the antient modes of federative organization aroſe from a ſecret predilection to the ſtadtholderian government; and the naval defeat of Camperdown was aſcribed by many to the treaſonable diſaffection of ſome perſons high in ſtation and influence. At the latter end of the year 1797, citizen Charles de la Croix was nominated ambaſſador to the republic of Holland, with a view to effect a revolutionary change which had been previouſly concerted with the Dutch general Daendals.

On the 22d of January, 1798, troops were poſted at the entrance of the hall of the aſſembly, the commanding officer of

* This is the remarkable and candid teſtimony of a moſt determined anti-revolutioniſt, M. MALLET DU PAN.——*Vide* "Britiſh Mercury, September, 1799."

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of which arreſted ſuch of the deputies as were on the proſcribed liſt, to the number of twenty-one, together with the ſix members of the commiſſion for foreign affairs. The aſſembly, thus purged, aſſumed the appellation of "The Conſtituent Aſſembly of the Batavian People," and elected a proviſional Executive Directory. A general oath was impoſed of unalterable hatred to ſtadtholderianiſm, ariſtocracy, federaliſm, and anarchy: and Holland ſeemed ſunk into the ſtate of a province abjectly dependent upon the will of De la Croix, the confidential agent of the French Directory. A conſtitution formed on the baſis of the French was ſoon prepared, and with no difficulty accepted by the Dutch nation: but the Conventional Aſſembly, on the 5th of May, thought proper to declare, "that although they were virtually diſſolved by the acceptance of the conſtitution, yet the dangers which ſtill threatened the country had determined the members to agree that no renewal ſhould take place that year, but that the preſent deputies ſhould form themſelves into a legiſlative body, and continue their functions together with the preſent Directory."

This act of deſpotiſm rouſed the phlegm of the Batavians into a very active and, probably, unexpected reſiſtance. General Daendals, who had promoted the excluſion of the obnoxious members in January, now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the decided part which he took in oppoſition to the preſent meaſure, which was ſupported by the whole influence of the French ambaſſador and agent, Charles de la Croix.

The Dutch Directory having iſſued orders for the arreſt of the general, that officer made his eſcape, and, repairing to Paris, made ſo good a defence of his conduct to the French Directory, that he was enabled, under the ſanction of their approbation, to return to Holland, where he was received with acclamations of applauſe. In a ſhort time a new ſcene of cabal and reſiſtance opened: The miniſters of the different ſtate departments uniting with Daendals,

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and erecting themſelves into a proviſionary executive power, ſummoned all the officers of the Dutch troops before them; who, entering entirely into their views, took the new oath of allegiance propoſed; and general Daendals, at the head of a ſtrong military force, loſt no time in ſurrounding both the Directory and the legiſlative body, as well as in ſecuring the perſon of the ambaſſador de la Croix. Two of the directors had given in their timely reſignation; two others effected their eſcape; Van Langen, the fifth, was put under arreſt: De la Croix received his diſmiſſion, and returned to Paris. The primary aſſemblies being convoked, elected apparently, without any reſtraint, the new legiſlative body, to whom the proviſional adminiſtration, on its meeting, ſurrendered their powers. In the month of Auguſt the Executive Directory were nominated, and the new directorial government completely organized; and all theſe events paſſed not only without any oppoſition from the French Directory, but with their evident implicit concurrence.

In the month of May, this year (1798), a futile and ill-concerted attempt was made by the Engliſh government to interrupt the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France, by deſtroying the baſin, gates, and ſluices, of the Bruges' Canal. The command of the expedition being entruſted to general Coote and commodore Popham, both officers of diſtinguiſhed merit. By five o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the troops were diſembarked with their artillery, miners, petards, &c. and ſoon after ten the works were blown up with a violent exploſion. But the ſurf now unfortunately run ſo high that it was impoſſible to re-imbark. As a *feint*, according to general Coote's official account, a peremptory ſummons was ſent to the governor of Oſtend to ſurrender that important place, but the anſwer received was, "that this would not be done till the garriſon were buried under the ruins." The Engliſh, to the number of 1,200 men, now endeavoured to entrench themſelves

ſelves on the ſand-hills near the ſhore, where they were early the next morning attacked by a very ſuperior force, moving in different columns. After a ſhort but gallant conteſt, in which they were completely over-powered, their front being broken, and their flanks turned, general Coote himſelf being ſeverely wounded, they were compelled to ſurrender to the enemy, by whom both men and officers were treated with the greateſt attention and generoſity; and the damage done to the ſluices was in a few weeks perfectly repaired.

Towards the cloſe of the year, the iſland of Minorca was attacked apparently by ſurpriſe, and captured, after a reſiſtance ſo feeble as to occaſion a ſuſpicion of treachery, without the loſs of a man;—the garriſon, conſiſting of near 4,000 men, under a puſillanimous governor, Don Juan de Queſada, ſurrendering priſoners of war to the Britiſh commander, general Stuart.

In the courſe of the year, the town of Port-au-Prince in St. Domingo, with the ſettlement of St. Marc and its dependencies, were evacuated by the Britiſh forces, and immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the French general Touiſſant de l'Ouverture, a native of the iſland, and one of the gens-de-couleur—a man of great talents and humanity, who, by acquiring the confidence of the inhabitants, had, in a very great degree, ſucceeded in reſtoring order and harmony in that long-diſtracted country. And thus ended thoſe dreams of conqueſt which had led to ſuch fatally-diſaſtrous and impracticable attempts!—The dependence of general Touiſſant upon the French directorial government was manifeſtly little more than nominal; and it yet remains a problem, whether France will ever recover her former civil and political authority over this great and proſperous colony.

The interior tranquillity of Great Britain was this year (1798), undiſturbed by any memorable incident; and the public attention was wholly engroſſed by reviews, encampments, and military evolutions and manœuvres—almoſt every

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every man being now a ſoldier, and enrolled in the national conſcription.

On the 9th of May his majeſty, calling in council for the council-book, was pleaſed to ſtrike out the name of Mr. Fox from the liſt of privy counſellors;—poſterity will decide how wiſely and how well. It has been the juſt boaſt of Mr. Fox, that never, in conſequence of his counſels, has an extra-guinea been expended, or a ſingle life been ſacrificed. By the counſels of others, whoſe names are ſtill inſcribed in the fatal roll, has the preſent reign been rendered an almoſt perpetual ſpectacle of blood and horror, of corruption, extortion, diſgrace, and calamity.

In conſequence of the numerous proſecutions inſtituted ſince the proclamation of 1792, at the ſuit of the crown, for real or pretended libels againſt the government, the liberty of the preſs was virtually annihilated, and ſcarcely would any author write, or any printer publiſh, any tract in oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration. In the ſpring of this year, the biſhop of Landaff, once the eloquent and accompliſhed advocate of liberty, having publiſhed a *candid* and courtly pamphlet, tending very artfully to reconcile the minds of men to the exiſting ſyſtem and all its concomitant abominations, a moſt ſpirited anſwer to it immediately appeared from the pen of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, a name known in the firſt ranks of literature, and honored for his extraordinary attainments in claſſical erudition, by the learned in every country throughout Europe. In ſpeaking of the war tax, ſtyled "the Triple Aſſeſſment," which graſped at the tenth of every man's income, and of which the biſhop of Landaff had expreſſed his entire approbation, as a juſt and wiſe meaſure of finance, this ſpirited and patriotic writer indignantly ſays—"This meaſure was not adopted by Mr. Pitt either for its wiſdom or its juſtice, but becauſe the funding ſyſtem can be purſued no longer.—In truth, miniſters begin to feel that our expenditure is that milſtone which will infallibly

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ſink them and their ſyſtem together in perdition; and it is very doubtful whether their profligacy and inſanity have left political ſalvation practicable to all the united wiſdom and virtue of the country."—The power of the miniſters he juſtly ſtates to be irreſiſtible, notwithſtanding the palpable inability, and the acknowledged inefficiency, of their meaſures:—"For I almoſt queſtion," thus he boldly expreſſes himſelf, "whether a dozen men at all diſtinguiſhed for intellect, and virtue, and political diſquiſition, who are at this hour the advocates of the preſent miniſtry, can be found in Britain, 'from old Belerium to the northern main,' not connected in fact or expectancy, by themſelves or their relatives, with ſome who depend on the emoluments of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem." He goes on to give his opinion, "that could the French make an effective landing in England, the kingdom would be loſt for ever. The ſame cauſe which has facilitated the progreſs of the republicans on the continent would operate as powerfully for them in this country alſo—namely, a degree of poverty and wretchedneſs in the lower orders of the community, which, eſpecially in their preſent ſtate of depravity and ignorance, will render the chances, even from confuſion, of any change deſirable.—My life and my books," ſays this philoſophical politician, "are all the perſonalities that I value, and neither of them, for I have not taſted *lotus*, ſhall be hazarded in defence of the preſent adminiſtration. If the French come, they ſhall find me at my poſt, a watchful centinel in my proper box—my ſtudy, among the venerable dead; ſometimes inveſtigating the origin of man and primæval hiſtory, by turning the dark lanthorn of heathen records, or trimming the everlaſting lamp of Moſes; ſometimes muſing with the divine profeſſors of the tuneful art on ſubjects of taſte and fancy; and ſometimes meditating with the men of Galilee on mortality and immortality. No ſyſtems of the many made for one, no zeal in ſupport of frontleſs corruption

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corruption and every evil work ſhall dip my hands in the blood of men!

Non res Romanæ, perituraque regna—

Let thoſe who have brought us to this moſt alarming criſis ſtep forward in the day of danger, and fight the battles of their Baal and their Mammon."—Three of the publiſhers of this pamphlet, Jordan, Cuthell, and Johnſon, were immediately proſecuted by the attorney-general for this offence, and, being convicted, were ſentenced to different degrees of puniſhment. And, in the ſequel, the learned and eminent author himſelf underwent the ſame fate; being condemned to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and to ſuffer two years' impriſonment. In order, no doubt, to hide this tranſaction from the gariſh eye of day, he was, after a ſhort interval, removed from the King's Bench to the common gaol of Dorcheſter.*

The war between France and Auſtria being now to appearance terminated, and the invaſion of England given up as an hopeleſs and impracticable attempt, it was become a queſtion of great importance, and of no little embarraſſment, what ſhould be done with the immenſe armies actually on foot? Of the generals employed by the Directory, Buonaparte had been the moſt uniformly ſucceſsful, poſſeſſed the moſt commanding talents, and incomparably the largeſt ſhare of popularity. His ardent and active genius, not ſatisfied with the glory already acquired, and the victories already won, graſped at ſomething yet greater and higher: and the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt ſtruck his mind as an enterpriſe which would raiſe his name

* How pleaſing muſt be the reflections of the biſhop of Landaff on recollecting the complete victory which, by the aſſiſtance of his new friends, the preſent miniſters, he has been able to obtain over all his enemies—Wakefield, Williams, Jordan, Johnſon, Cuthell, and Flower! How convincing are the arguments of fine and impriſonment! How ſatisfactory the refutation of a verdict of conviction! Certainly the learned prelate may plume himſelf henceforth upon being an unanſwerable writer.

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name to a level with thoſe of the proudeſt conquerors in ancient or modern times. The firſt ſtep towards the accompliſhment of this vaſt and romantic project was the invaſion and occupation of Egypt, which he figured to himſelf as an eaſy taſk. Thence, before England could be apprized of his purpoſe, he conceived that veſſels might be procured to tranſport the greater part of his army, from ſome of the ports on the Red Sea, acroſs the Arabian Gulf to the weſtern coaſt of Hindoſtan, where the ſultan of Myſore, Tippoo Saib, the powerful ally of France, was ready to join him with all his forces. The Directory, jealous probably of the great political and military influence of Buonaparte, gave all poſſible encouragement to this deſign, which at once freed them from a dangerous rival, and promiſed to add new laurels to the national wreath of victory.

The project in contemplation was obſcurely intimated to the Council of Five Hundred, in a report made by Eſchaſſereaux (April 1798), on the ſubject of colonization, wherein he ſtates "the advantages which would reſult from the regeneration of a country which was the firſt theatre of civilization in the univerſe." The immenſe preparations which had been for ſome months going on, chiefly in the port of Toulon, denoted an enterpriſe of no ordinary magnitude, and of a nature very uncommon. A number of learned and ſcientific men were ſelected to accompany this expedition; and with the uſual ſtores of carnage and deſolation were ſtowed inſtruments of knowledge in all its departments practical and philoſophical. Curioſity waſted itſelf in conjecture; for though Egypt had been publicly pointed out as the place of deſtination, many refined ſo far as to imagine that upon this very account it could not be the real object in view.

At length, every thing being in perfect readineſs, general Buonaparte ſailed from Toulon (May 20), with fifteen ſail of the line and frigates, under the conduct of a very able naval

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naval officer, admiral Brueys, accompanied by more than 200 tranſports. On the 9th of June this great armament preſented itſelf before the important fortreſs of Malta, and made a general landing of troops and artillery upon the iſland, with ſcarcely a ſhew of reſiſtance. No ſooner had the cannonade commenced, than the grand maſter demanded a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and the town and fortreſs of Valetta, with the whole iſland, was ignominiouſly ſurrendered on certain ſpecified conditions—the principal of which was, that the grand maſter ſhould receive for life an annual penſion of 300,000 livres. Thus eaſily did the French acquire one of the fineſt and moſt commodious harbours in the Mediterranean, defended by ſtrong and almoſt impregnable works, and which had for ages paſt been regarded as one of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the inroads of Ottoman power.

After leaving a garriſon of 4,000 men in Malta, the French armament, now increaſed by ſixty tranſports from Civita-Vecchia, and having on board not leſs than 40,000 troops, chiefly of the veteran armies of Italy, kept their courſe to the north-eaſt, ſailing by the iſland of Candia. The Engliſh fleet, which was of equal or ſuperior force, under the command of admiral Nelſon, who had already highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his naval proweſs, after ſeeking the French in vain off Toulon, arrived at Malta two days after their departure from that place. He then directed his courſe towards Alexandria; but not finding the enemy there he ſtood on to Cyprus. Scarcely was the Engliſh fleet out of ſight, when the French appeared in view; and on the 1ſt of July the French admiral caſt anchor on the Egyptian coaſt; and general Buonaparte immediately landed his troops, although the weather was rough, and the ſea ran high and boiſterous. On the 5th he marched forward to the city of Alexandria, which he took by aſſault, and, in order to ſtrike terror and preclude future reſiſtance, with a great ſlaughter of the Arabs and Mamelouks

Mamelouks who defended it. The appearance of this celebrated city fell prodigiouſly ſhort of the romantic ideas formed by the ſanguine imaginations of the French. Of the antient Alexandria, renowned for its commerce, its induſtry, its population, and magnificence, no traces were left but ſome ſcattered and broken monuments—ſuch as the remains of columns of granite, marble, and porphyry, inſcribed with hieroglyphics nearly defaced; baſes, ſhafts, and capitals, lying in melancholy diſorder; the ruins of ſeveral baths and catacombs, with the mouldering fragments of temples---the pillar of Pompey, and the baths of Cleopatra, alone remaining in tolerable preſervation. The modern city preſented only a wretched and confuſed heap of huts rather than houſes; the ſtreets narrow, noiſome through filth; and the inhabitants ſtupid, ignorant, barbarous, and hoſtile.

The addreſs of general Buonaparte to his army, on their landing, was admirably adapted to the purpoſe of this eaſtern invader. "The people," ſaid he, "with whom you are now going to eſtabliſh an intercourſe are Mahometans. The firſt article of their faith is, 'There is no GOD but GOD, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them. Treat their muſtis and imans with reſpect, as you have done the rabbis and biſhops.---The Roman legions protected all religions." In a proclamation addreſſed to the people of Egypt, after the taking of Alexandria, he thus adroitly practiſes on their credulity and their prejudices:—"You will be told that I come to deſtroy your religion. Do not believe it. Reply, that I am come to reſtore your rights, to puniſh uſurpers, and that I reverence, more than the Mamelouks themſelves, GOD, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran.---If Egypt is their farm, let them ſhew the leaſe that GOD has given them of it.---There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has deſtroyed them all? What but the injuſtice and tyranny of the Mamelouks?"---In this modern

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cruſade liberty ſerved as a pretext no leſs commodious to the purpoſes of ambition, than in the antient that of religion.

From Alexandria the route of the army lay acroſs the deſert to the Nile. Two leagues below Cairo that immenſe ſtream divides itſelf into two branches, one of which, running weſterly, falls into the ſea at Roſetta, and the other to the eaſtward at Damietta. The intermediate country is called the Delta, and is extremely fertile. Along the outer ſides of the two branches runs a narrow ſlip of cultivated land, beyond which are the Deſerts, extending on the left to Libya, on the right to the Red Sea. The march of the army to Roſetta completely diſpelled what yet remained of the fond and flattering ideas which the French had indulged reſpecting Egypt. They trod for more than forty miles over a burning ſand, utterly deſtitute of verdure, of water, and refreſhments—fainting with heat, with thirſt, and fatigue. Their arrival at Roſetta opened to them, however, a ſcene of comparative delight. This city, much ſuperior to Alexandria, ſituated on the banks of the Nile, ſix miles only from the ſea, is ſurrounded by a green and fertile country, abounding with palm, citron, pomegranate, and orange-trees, with other productions of the warmer climates —exhibiting a raviſhing ſpectacle to thoſe who had juſt been traverſing the fiery and deſolate wilderneſs.

Leaving a garriſon at Roſetta, the army continued their march along the banks of the Nile to the city of Grand Cairo, accompanied by a flotilla, which carried the ammunition and proviſions. They were, nevertheleſs, under the neceſſity of proceeding with caution on account of the frequent and deſultory attacks of the Arabs. On the arrival of general Buonaparte near Giſeh, three leagues from Cairo, he found Murad Bey, one of the chiefs of the Mamelouks, who had aſſembled his whole force to oppoſe the farther progreſs of the French army, which was flanked on the right by the celebrated pyramids, on the left by the Nile. The charge of the Mamelouks, who were all mounted on

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ſwift and managed horſes, and who were equally dextrous in throwing the lance or wielding the ſabre, was beyond expreſſion furious: but being wholly devoid of military ſkill and diſcipline they were repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. Having abandoned the field in confuſion, the camp of the aſſailants, and 400 camels laden with baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the ſhattered remains of the Mamelouk army retreated under the conduct of Murad Bey into Upper Egypt. After this encounter, which received the appellation of the Battle of the Pyramids, general Buonaparte entered (July 22), Grand Cairo in triumph; —preſiding in perſon ſoon after this event at the annual ceremony which takes place on the overflowing of the Nile; and employing himſelf with great aſſiduity in the arrangements neceſſary for the interior adminiſtration of the Lower Egypt, now completely in his poſſeſſion.

But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the French, they were haraſſed with inceſſant fatigue, and irritated by perpetual diſappointment. "Egypt," ſaid M. Lacuée, an officer of rank in the French army, in a letter addreſſed to a friend and relation in France, "bears not the ſlighteſt reſemblance to what has been ſaid of it by our writers. The natives, degraded by ſlavery, are relapſed into the ſavage ſtate—retaining nothing of their former civilization, but ſuperſtition and intolerance. In a word, this country is nothing at preſent. It merely offers magnificent recollections of the paſt, and vaſt but diſtant hopes of the future."* The army now began anxiouſly to ſpeculate upon their expedition to India: "We do not know," ſays another French officer, in an intercepted letter, "whether we ſhall ſtay in theſe new regions, or carry our conqueſts farther;—the army, though victorious, will terminate its career, by periſhing miſerably, if our government perſiſts in its ambitious projects."† But the general himſelf, as it appears, had by this time totally relinquiſhed his India chimæras, and

* Intercepted Correſpondence. † Ditto.

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and cheriſhed the idea of ſpeedily returning to France; leaving the future and difficult taſk of maintaining the conqueſts he had made to others. "The conqueſt of Egypt," ſays the general, in a letter to his brother Joſeph Buonaparte, dated July 28, "has been ſufficiently diſputed to add another leaf to the military glory of this army. Egypt is the richeſt country in the world, in wheat, rice, pulſe, and cattle; but barbariſm is here at its height. I think of being in France in two months. Take your meaſures ſo that I may have a country-ſeat at my arrival, either in the neighbourhood of Paris, or in Burgundy. I reckon on paſſing the winter there.†

It was probably impracticable, had the French general been diſpoſed to perſevere in his original project, to collect a ſufficient number of veſſels on the Red Sea, adapted to the purpoſe of tranſporting his army, and its appendages, to Hindoſtan. And an obſtacle no leſs unexpected than formidable aroſe to the execution of this deſign, in conſequence of the Engliſh admiral Rainier, who commanded a ſmall ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, having taken poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Perim, ſituated between the two points, forming the Straits of Babel-mandel, which conſtitutes the ſole communication between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Cambaya. But an event of vaſt magnitude and importance, totally unforeſeen, and moſt diſaſtrous in its conſequences to France, occurred at this period, which completely diſconcerted the deſigns of the French government, and gave a new aſpect to the affairs of Europe.

The French admiral, Brueys, after diſembarking, with the happieſt fortune, the French troops under his convoy, arrived in the Bay of Aboukir on the 7th of July, forming a line of battle, with the headmoſt ſhip as cloſe as poſſible to a ſhoal, to the north-weſt, and the reſt of the fleet deſcribing a curve along the line of deep water, flanked by numerous gun-boats, and a battery of ſhells and mortars,

† Intercepted Correſpondence.

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on an iſland in the van. In this poſition admiral Brueys remained till the 31ſt of July---confident, no doubt, in his own ſtrength, as he had time more than ſufficient to have taken refuge either in Corfu or Malta.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt the Engliſh fleet came in ſight, and, upon a near approach, admiral Nelſon determined upon attempting a dangerous manœuvre, which, if ſucceſsful, muſt be deciſive, and which could be prompted only by that high and heroic ſpecies of courage which borders upon the limits of a noble temerity. Having made himſelf acquainted, by repeated trials, of the depth of water near the ſhoal, the ſignal was daringly made, and as daringly executed, to turn the head of the French line; by which means the whole of the enemy's van was attacked on both ſides, before any other of the French ſhips (rendered uſeleſs by being at anchor) could move to their aſſiſtance. The action commenced a little before ſunſet, and, ſituated as the two fleets now were, victory ſoon declared itſelf in favor of England. The French however continued fighting with the rage of deſperation. Before eight the fleets were engaged throughout the whole extent of the line---the cannonading on both ſides was inceſſant and tremendous. The French admiral's ſhip having taken fire, the whole horizon ſeemed in flames. Admiral Brueys himſelf was killed by a cannon-ball; and admiral Gantheaume, ſecond in command, finding it impoſſible to ſtop the progreſs of the conflagration, quitted the veſſel with difficulty, accompanied by a ſmall part of the crew, and about half paſt nine ſhe blew up, with an exploſion which was plainly heard at Roſetta, ten miles diſtant. A ſudden and horrific pauſe enſued, expreſſive of the feelings excited by this moſt melancholy, yet beyond conception magnificent, ſpectacle. The battle was then renewed with tenfold fury, and proſecuted with ſhort intervals till day-break, by which time almoſt all the French ſhips had ſtruck their colours, after loſing moſt of their officers

officers and vaſt numbers of their men—the veſſels themſelves being nearly diſmaſted, and lying mere wrecks upon the water. Two line-of-battle ſhips, and two frigates, only eſcaped from the general deſtruction of this dreadful battle, which will ever rank in celebrity with the moſt famous naval engagements ever fought in any age of the world, or by any nations of antient or modern times. The perſevering valor of the vanquiſhed, which laſted long after all hopes of ſucceſs on their part had ceaſed, was truly aſtoniſhing, and cauſed the victory of the Engliſh to be dearly purchaſed with the lives of nine hundred brave ſailors; but the loſs of the enemy was incalculable. Admiral Nelſon himſelf received a dangerous wound in the head on this occaſion, which diſabled him from the command during the latter part of the action; but his firſt captain, Berry, gave full proof that he was actuated by the ſame ardent zeal and heroic ſpirit. The Engliſh admiral, after leaving a ſquadron to block up the ports of Alexandria and Roſetta, ſailed, with ſuch of his prizes as he could bring away, for Europe, in order to refit.

The intelligence of this aſtoniſhing diſaſter threw the whole French army, excepting the general himſelf, into conſternation. His diſpatches upon this occaſion to the Directory diſcover the moſt admirable firmneſs and fortitude. He congratulates them on the previous landing of the troops; and will not for a moment admit the deſponding idea, that the object of the expedition is fruſtrated. To England, he affirms, is decreed the empire of the ſeas,—to France that of the land. "This diſaſter," ſays the French officer before cited—M. Lacuée, "would deprive the army of every hope, if they were not acquainted with the genius of the commander-in-chief."

It appears probable that the French government had flattered itſelf with the idea that the Sublime Porte, ſenſible of the extreme importance of keeping up an amicable connection

tion with France, as well as of the insignificance of that shadow of authority which she retained in Egypt, would have condescended to accept of the apologies made by the republic for the invasion of that country, in which France professed to oppose, not the power of the grand-seignor, but that of the Beys and Mamelouks. On the contrary, however, the intelligence of this invasion was heard at Constantinople with the greatest indignation; but fear kept that proud and barbarous court silent, till the tidings of the victory at Aboukir encouraged her to give vent to her impotent though passionate resentment. On the 1st of September an imperial decree was published, declaring the deposition of the grand-vizier (Mehemed Pacha), who, it is asserted, "had not observed the instructions given him, to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions; so that in the dark himself with respect to the evil designs of those *brutish infidels* the French, he did not in good time apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof. When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear," says this imperial decree, "a full month after that insufferable event had come to pass, such were our grief and concern, that, we take God to witness! it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of sleep and rest. We have therefore immediately deposed him from the office of grand-vizier, and have appointed in his place Youssouf Pacha, governor of Erzerum. Now it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat those faithless brutes the French, and it being become a positive duty for our imperial person to deliver the blessed territories from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insults which they have offered to mussulmans, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued, to attack them by sea and land. Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illustrious lawyers, ministers, and chieftains, our subjects, you must, with a full confidence in God and his prophet,

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fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the preſence of ſuch wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers, in the reſpective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, will apply your utmoſt efforts to take revenge of them.

At the ſame time, to teſtify his high ſenſe of the ſervice recently performed by admiral Nelſon, the grand-ſeignor directed a ſuperb diamond *chelengk*, or plume of triumph, to be taken from one of the imperial turbans, and ſent to the admiral, together with a robe of honor of ſable fur, beſides a purſe of 2000 ſequins to be diſtributed among the wounded of his crew.

The blind and furious reſentment of the Ottoman Porte againſt France incited them to acts of the greateſt political folly. A Ruſſian ſquadron of 12 ſail of the line, under admiral Ouſchakoff, was permitted, for the firſt time, to ſail through the Dardanelles, which, in conjunction with their new allies the Turks, reduced the Venetian iſlands of Cerigo, the antient Cytherea, Zante, Cephalenia, and at length Corfu—the poſſeſſion of which important place ſecured to them a permanent eſtabliſhment in the Mediterranean.

Had the French, in planning their Egyptian expedition, really been actuated,—which no nation ever has, or ever will be,—by the ſole and beneficent motive of giving liberty to an oppreſſed people; and had the Egyptians been capable of comprehending the nature and value of the gift; it would undoubtedly have demanded and deſerved the applauſe and admiration of the univerſe. "The Turkiſh government," to adopt the impreſſive language of a celebrated writer, "is a tyranny under which the fineſt countries, in the moſt genial climate of the world, are waſted by peace more than any countries have been by war,—where arts are unknown, where manufactures languiſh, where ſcience is extinguiſhed, where agriculture decays, where the human race itſelf melts away, and

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and periſhes under the eye of the obſerver."* It muſt nevertheleſs be allowed, that Buonaparte was no vulgar conqueror, and that he aſpired, in a country where, as he himſelf expreſſes it, "barbariſm was at its height," to introduce the arts of civilization, the knowledge of juriſprudence, and the practice and love of induſtry.

The communication of Alexandria with Roſetta by ſea being cut off, the French general cauſed the canal which led from Rhamania to Alexandria, acroſs the Deſert, to be repaired and cleanſed. Left entirely to his own reſources, he ſeemed to continue with greater ardor and activity his civil and military operations. At Belbeis and Salhaic he conſtructed forts and redoubts to guard againſt the attacks of the Turks on the ſide of Syria; and drew plans for the better defence of Grand Cairo and Alexandria. He formed alſo a great eſtabliſhment for the different mechanical arts, in which he was aſſiſted by the artiſts and ſcientific men who had accompanied the expedition, and with the aid of whom he formed a national inſtitute. At his invitation the Schieks from different provinces aſſembled at Cairo, where Monge and Berthollet ſubmitted to their deliberations various queſtions of political œconomy, and regulations of adminiſtrative government. Every art of courteſy and of policy was put in practice to acquire the confidence of the natives, but with little apparent ſucceſs. The French were ſtill regarded as intruders and uſurpers, and nothing could reconcile the minds of the Egyptians, blindly and obſtinately attached to the Mahometan ſuperſtition, to the government of ſtrangers and infidels.

This inward enmity broke out into a violent inſurrection in the city of Grand Cairo in the month of October, which the French, being attacked ſuddenly and unprepared, were obliged to exert themſelves vigorouſly to repel. Many Frenchmen

* "Reflections on the French Revolution."

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Frenchmen were maſſacred at the commencement of the commotion, amongſt whom was general Dupuis, commandant of the garriſon; but the inſurgents were at length ſubdued with great loſs of blood; and the revolt ſerved but to increaſe and eſtabliſh the power of Buonaparte. It was remarked in this, as on other occaſions, that the Arabs, the Turks, and the Mamelouks, were far more active in their oppoſition to the French than the aboriginal inhabitants, who were too much accuſtomed to ſubjection to think of reſiſtance to any aſſumption of authority. The ſect of the Cophts, who were Chriſtians of the Greek communion, ſhewed themſelves, on the contrary, at all times, and particularly during the late attempt, ſtrongly attached to the invaders—cheriſhing, no doubt, a dawn of hope that the hour of their deliverance from the Turkiſh bondage was at hand. But their numbers were comparatively ſmall, and their influence yet ſmaller.

By this time the army of Murad Bey was again defeated in Upper Egypt, near the pyramids of Saccara; and another body of Mamelouks, under Ibrahim Bey, on the ſide of Syria, was diſperſed by the forces which had been left on the coaſt under the command of general Kleber. The declaration of the grand-ſeignor having now arrived in Egypt, general Buonaparte ſet on foot very great military preparations, plainly indicating his purpoſe to make yet farther and mightier efforts for what, in the revolutionary language of France, was ſtyled the deliverance and regeneration of the Eaſtern world; and his intention of reviſiting France was for the preſent entirely ſuſpended.

Admiral Nelſon had been received, after returning from his Egyptian expedition, with the higheſt honors almoſt ever paid to any perſon. The victory he had gained excited a great ſenſation in Europe, from the frozen coaſts of the Baltic to the golden ſhores of Heſperia. On his appearance in the Bay of Naples, on the 22d of September, his Sicilian majeſty inſtantly went on board the admiral's ſhip, attended

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by a numerous train of barges and boats, with colours and muſic, the whole of that beautiful natural amphitheatre being crowded with ſpectators. Alſo when the admiral returned the royal viſit, every mark of reſpect and attention was ſhewn to him, and a new confederacy againſt France began to be publickly and confidently talked of. "Fire but one gun," ſaid the chevalier Acton, firſt miniſter to the king of Naples, "and the congreſs of Raſtadt is diſſolved."

The honors and rewards allotted to admiral Nelſon in his native country were ſtill more flattering and ſubſtantial. In addition to the dignity before conferred upon him of Knight of the Bath, he was now created Baron Nelſon of the Nile, to which was annexed a perpetual annuity of 2,000 *l.*; and he was authorized to bear for his armorial enſigns a palm-tree, and for his creſt, on a naval crown, the *chelingk* or plume of triumph. The victory was celebrated with great rejoicings all over the kingdom; and new hopes, not leſs chimerical and extravagant than the former, began to be entertained of humbling the pride of France. The unfortunate effect of this glorious victory was not to inſpire a diſpoſition to embrace the favorable moment to conclude an advantageous and honorable peace, but to raiſe the ſinking credit of a weak, baffled, and degraded adminiſtration, and to exalt a new, a ruinous, and ſenſeleſs war into unmerited popularity.

The congreſs at Raſtadt, which had commenced its ſittings on the 1ſt of January (1798), ſeemed, in the courſe of almoſt a year, to have made very little progreſs. France adhered tenaciouſly to her project of making the Rhine the barrier of the republic. It was no ſecret that this propoſition had been aſſented to by the emperor in the ſeparate articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. The greater part of the Venetian territory, and the whole of Bavaria beyond the Inn, were made the rich reward of this compliance; and the Houſe of Auſtria, by a rare fortune, on the termination of a war to her almoſt uniformly unſucceſsful,

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would thus be left more powerful than at the commencement of it. The grand difficulty conſiſted in arranging that ſyſtem of ſecularization by which it was propoſed to compenſate the loſſes of thoſe whoſe dominions were to be ceded to France by the treaty of Raſtadt. But the Deputation of the empire reſiſted with the greateſt obſtinacy the ſacrifice required of them They aſſerted that the integrality of the empire ought to be maintained, ſince it ſerved as the baſis of the preliminaries of Leoben; and that the acquiſition of the left ſide of the Rhine was not of ſuch importance to France as the violation of that integrality to the States of Germany: That the ceſſion in queſtion affected mediately or immediately the intereſts of no leſs than thirty-one ſecular and thirteen eccleſiaſtical ſtates; and that no means ought to be left unfought for preventing ſo vaſt an alienation.

The French plenipotentiaries, Treilhard and Bonnier, ſtill however inſiſting on the firſt demand, and being powerfully ſeconded by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the deputation on the 12th of March moſt reluctantly conſented to this immenſe ſacrifice. The plenipotentiaries then went into the queſtion of indemnity, which was agreed to be ſettled on the principle of ſecularizing the poſſeſſions of the eccleſiaſtical princes. After much time fruitleſsly ſpent in diſcuſſing this endleſs topic of diſputation, the French were deſired to ſtate their ulterior demands. This was done on the 13th of May, by a note, containing the following requiſitions: 1ſt, The navigation of the Rhine to be common to both nations, ſuppreſſing the right of tolls altogether. 2dly, To leave all the iſlands of the Rhine in poſſeſſion of the republic. 3dly, To retain poſſeſſion of the fort of Kehl, and the territory contiguous on the German ſide of the Rhine; likewiſe of the ſuburb of Caſſel, oppoſite to the city of Mentz. 4thly, To demoliſh the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, now cloſely blockaded by the French.

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Theſe extortionate demands gave great and juſt offence, not only to the Deputation, but alſo to the courts of Vienna and Berlin: and the conqueror of Italy, having now departed on his romantic expedition, the language of the Deputation, ſecretly encouraged, no doubt, by the emperor, began to aſſume a firmer tone. The ambaſſadors of Auſtria and Pruſſia remonſtrated in formal and official memorials againſt theſe conditions, as ignominious to the empire, and fatal no leſs to her ſafety than her honor. Ehrenbreitſtein, Kehl, and Caſſel, were the bulwarks of the empire on the ſide of France; and to require the ceſſion or the demolition of theſe antient fortreſſes, was in effect to claim a free entrance into the heart of Germany whenever it ſuited the ſelfiſh or ambitious purpoſes of France.

After new and lengthened diſcuſſion, the Deputation conſented to the demolition of Ehrenbreitſtein; and the French agreed to a diviſion of the iſlands in the river, and to relinquiſh the territory adjoining to Kehl; but neither would the Deputation or the Imperial miniſter accede to the ceſſion of that fortreſs or of Caſſel. After ſome time the French made (September 14), the farther conceſſion, that the fortreſſes of Kehl and Caſſel ſhould alſo be demoliſhed inſtead of being given up; and in a note preſented on the 3d of October, ſome other points in diſpute, of inferior conſequence, were either modified or changed. But the Directory, by their incapacity and want of diſcernment, had ſuffered the favorable moment to elapſe. By the diſplay of an ambition no leſs impolitic than unprincipled, they had again awakened the ſpirit of reſiſtance in the court of Vienna, which had recently entered into very intimate connections with the court of St. Peterſburg; and the victory of Aboukir had already laid the foundation of a new confederacy againſt France, infinitely more juſtifiable than the former.

A variety of meſſages and memorials having paſſed without effect, the French plenipotentiaries, on the 7th of December,

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cember, preſented their ultimatum, to which an anſwer was peremptorily demanded in ſix days. The majority of the Deputation, including the miniſter of Pruſſia, tolerably ſatisfied with the conditions now offered, and dreading the renewal of the war, agreed to the propoſitions of the ultimatum. But the miniſters of Auſtria, Saxony, and Hanover, proteſted againſt all further ceſſion, the count Lehrbach, the Imperial miniſter, declaring that the contingent of Auſtria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from further aggreſſion. The French miniſters had now waſted a year in diſputes reſpecting the property of the ſwamps and moraſſes that obſtruct the courſe of the Rhine, and other points of controverſy either ſcandalouſly unjuſt or ridiculouſly inſignificant, when the march of the Ruſſians, which had for many weeks, and even months, engaged the attention of Europe, ſeemed at length to be deemed worthy of notice by the Directory.

In a note remitted January 1, 1799, to the Deputation of the empire, the French plenipotentiaries made a formal declaration, "that if the Diet of Ratiſbon conſented to the entrance of the Ruſſian troops on the territory of the empire, or did not, by every means in their power, give it their ſtrenuous oppoſition, that ſuch entrance would be conſidered by France as a violation of neutrality on the part of the empire." The Deputation, without any debate, voted that the note ſhould be ſent to Ratiſbon, and referred to the emperor and the Diet.

In a particular communication to the Imperial miniſter on the 10th of January, the French miniſters ſay, "they had orders to declare to him, that, in leaving a free paſſage to an army of a power which had declared war againſt France, and by permitting ſuch an army to croſs his ſtate, in order to reach the French troops, the emperor put the republic under the neceſſity of conſidering this act as a rupture of the ties which bound both ſtates."

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At this very time the Ruſſians were in full march towards the frontier of Bavaria. The French troops therefore paſſed again to the right ſide of the Rhine; and the impregnable fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, reduced to the laſt extremity by famine, ſurrendered to the arms of France, after a reſiſtance of eighteen months. Matters were now haſting faſt to a criſis. The Auſtrians had already, at the formal requeſt of the Griſon government,—ſuch at leaſt was the aſſertion of the London Gazette,—taken poſſeſſion of Coire, and the important poſt of Richenau; detachments being at the ſame time on their march to occupy the reſt of the Griſon country.

In anſwer to the French declaration and memorial, the Imperial court pretended to be "aſtoniſhed that the French ſhould have conceived the idea of addreſſing the Deputation of the empire on a ſubject which had no relation with their miſſion; expreſſing its ſatisfaction that the Deputation had referred this buſineſs, which was beyond its competence, to thoſe whom it concerned." The Deputation alſo coincided with the opinion of the Auſtrian cabinet, and declared, "that the march of the Ruſſian troops was beyond its competence." On the 31ſt of January the French plenipotentiaries preſented a declaration to the Deputation, importing, "that they had orders neither to receive nor remit any note on any of the points of the negotiation till that which they had remitted on the 1ſt of January, reſpecting the march of the Ruſſians, had received a categorical and ſatisfactory anſwer." On the ſame day a meſſage was likewiſe delivered to the Auſtrian miniſter, count Lehrbach, in which the French miniſters declared, "that if in fifteen days from the date of their letter the emperor had not compelled the Ruſſian troops to evacuate the Auſtrian territory, and ſuch of his other ſtates as made part of the German empire, hoſtilities ſhould forthwith begin between him and the French republic."—The emperor having now concerted his meaſures, deſigned not to make any reply to this menace; and the

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the term ſpecified having elapſed, the French armies began their march into Suabia, under general Jourdan.

Hoſtilities had ſome months previous to this period actually commenced in Italy. It is neceſſary to premiſe, that in the ſpring of the preſent year a ſerious diſpute aroſe between the king of Sardinia and the new Ligurian republic, occaſioned by the encouragement given by the latter to the diſaffected and revolutionary ſpirit of the Piedmonteſe, which diſcovered itſelf in inſurrectionary movements. Hoſtilities had been openly commenced, when the Sardinian monarch implored, as the laſt humiliating reſource now left him, the mediation and protection of the French government. This was granted only on the condition that the citadel of Turin ſhould be confided to the care of a French garriſon. The gates were opened to them on the 28th of June. Thus the king of Sardinia continued to reign nominally, while the French were in reality maſters of the country.

During theſe tranſactions the Roman republic exhibited a ſcene of dilapidation and oppreſſion beyond example. In what proportion the public diſtreſs was to be aſcribed to the French government, or to the government of Rome eſtabliſhed and ſupported by the power of France, it is difficult exactly to aſcertain. Probably the balance of injuſtice would be found, on examination, very equal. The diſaſtrous meaſures of finance adopted by Faypoult, the chief of the French commiſſariate, were productive of ruin to individuals; and the plunder and corruption of the ſubordinate agents completed the picture of the public miſery; and, together with the perſecutions exerciſed againſt all who ſhowed any diſpoſition adverſe to theſe proceedings, excited continual diſturbances and inſurrections, and deſtroyed every hope of eſtabliſhing any rational ſyſtem of liberty. The venerable names of ſenate, tribunate, and conſulate, ſerved only to remind the inhabitants of Rome of their degraded condition,

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condition, and anſwered no other purpoſe than to add inſult to injury, and contumely to oppreſſion.

The Neapolitan troops, under the Imperial general Mack, had doubtleſs, with the ſecret approbation of the court of Vienna, been for ſome time paſt collecting on the frontier of the Roman republic. In the month of November, Mack ſent a formal ſummons to general Championet, who commanded in this quarter, to withdraw his troops from the Roman territory. To which Championet replied, "that ſuch a ſummons could only be regarded as an act of aggreſſion, and a direct violation of the ſubſiſting treaties." In reply to this declaration, general Mack, on the 24th of November, ſignified to general Championet, that his Neapolitan majeſty had in perſon paſſed the frontier on the preceding day, to take poſſeſſion of the Roman territory, revolutioniſed and uſurped ſince the peace of Campo Formio. The number of French troops in the Roman ſtate did not exceed ten thouſand: and ſo little political diſcernment had the Directory, or ſo defective was their information, that theſe were very ill armed and provided. The public magazines were empty, Civita Vecchia itſelf left defenceleſs; and the invaſion of the Neapolitans, who had collected on this occaſion their whole military force—a rabble of 60 or 70,000 men without ſkill, courage, or diſcipline, was evidently to the French government a moſt unwelcome and unexpected meaſure, productive of great political embarraſſment.

The ſtate of things in Europe, ſince the victory of Aboukir, had its effect alſo upon the mind of the monarch of Sardinia, whoſe conduct had been for ſome time very diſtaſteful to the French, and in whoſe dominions evident ſymptoms appeared of a counter-revolutionary ſpirit. Couriers were known frequently to paſs between the two courts of Naples and Turin, and letters were intercepted which plainly proved the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between them. In one of theſe, dated October the 6th (1798), written

written by baron Awervech, a Neapolitan nobleman, to the governor of Turin, it is ſaid, "The ambaſſador from the court of London to Berlin has juſt concerted with prince Repnin a meaſure the moſt bold that modern diplomacy could ſuggeſt in the preſent circumſtances, to put an end, as it were, by force, to the indeciſion of Auſtria. They will cauſe hoſtilities immediately to be commenced by the court of Naples. A treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive between theſe two powers, will authorize his Sicilian majeſty again to call to his aid the Auſtrian contingent. Then all Europe will be put in motion upon the ſhores of the Boſphorus, as well as upon thoſe of the Danube, upon the banks of the Nieper as upon thoſe of the Rhine, in order to precipitate themſelves, *en maſſe*, upon that nation of uſurpers.—Such, ſir, is the plan concerted by the vaſt genius of prince Repnin, and of which you now ſee the firſt openings."

Immediately on the intelligence being received in Paris, that the Neapolitans had paſſed the frontier, war was declared in form againſt their Sicilian and Sardinian majeſties, —the Directory denouncing in their manifeſto "the long train of perfidies of which the court of Naples had been guilty, and which were now brought to the height by an audacious attack upon the French republic;—a court, which, during the whole courſe of the war of the coaleſced monarchs, diſtinguiſhed itſelf by the moſt inſenſate fury againſt the republic, notwithſtanding which the French government made no other uſe of the ſuperiority which victory gave them than for the purpoſe of moderation." They then enumerate the recent inſtances in which the court of Naples had ſhewn its ingratitude—"inciting and encouraging the Romans to revolt, and diſplaying its hoſtility to the Ligurian and Ciſalpine republics.—While ſhe dared not openly to declare war againſt France, ſhe ſought to deſtroy in Italy all the free ſtates which were under her protection. Inſtead of inflicting ſignal vengeance for this

conduct, the Directory did not oppose the taking possession of the duchy of Benevento; they offered their mediation to deliver the king of Naples from the feudal pretensions of Rome. They sent to Naples a new ambassador (M. Garat), furnished with the most amicable and conciliatory powers, and were anxious to give satisfaction to his Sicilian majesty respecting the object of Buonaparte's expedition. In return, the fleet of admiral Nelson was honorably received at Syracuse, and was revictualled in that port. It even received stores from the arsenal of the king, pilots to clear the Straits of Messina, and whatever was necessary to secure the success of the attack against the French. If too we recollect the inconceivable joy which was manifested at Naples on the sight of the English fleet, the public honors which the court itself lavished on admiral Nelson, in going out to welcome him, his triumphal entry, the large rewards granted to the messenger who brought the first account of this victory, and the illuminations and rejoicings which took place on this occasion;---if it be remembered that, from the time of this victory, the audacity of the Neapolitan government has known no bounds;---if all these circumstances are considered, it must be allowed that more hostile sentiments were never manifested on one side, nor more patience shown on the other. The guilt of the Sardinian government, as an accomplice with Naples, is manifest from a thousand circumstances;---its sentiments, its language, and even its actions, in proportion to its means, have been the same; and its artifice and hypocrisy exactly resemble that of Naples. In fact, they have never ceased to make war in every way which their imbecility and their cowardice suffered them to put into execution. The Piedmontese troops marched towards Loana at the same moment in which the Neapolitan army attacked the French;---and in the same moment also it was that the Sardinian government dared to require the evacuation of the citadel, and the diminution of the French troops in Piedmont."

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Of the inimical diſpoſition of the king of Sardinia, with reſpect to France, there can exiſt no poſſibility of doubt; but the indications of that diſpoſition, as ſtated at length in this manifeſto, though ſtrong, were perhaps not altogether ſuch as would juſtify the declaration of open hoſtility on the part of the Directory. The king of Sardinia appears to have been a man very inconſtant in his deſigns, and inconſiſtent in his conduct. He had done enough to give great and juſt offence to a proud and potent enemy, without poſſeſſing either ſtrength or courage to abide the conſequences. On the entrance of the French troops into Piedmont, in the month of December, without any attempt at reſiſtance, or appearance of coercion, he ſigned an act of abdication, and ſurrendered his whole country into the hands of the French. The Piedmonteſe troops, agreeably to the terms of the act, immediately adopted the French colours, and became a component part of the French army in Italy.

Whatever may have been the ſecret deſign of the Directory reſpecting Piedmont, they certainly were far from wiſhing to break with the government of Naples. They had even paid aſſiduous court to that government when it was manifeſtly in their power to attack that kingdom with every advantage. The reaſon is clear. The remote ſituation of Naples made it both inconvenient and hazardous for France to carry on a war with that corrupt and debilitated ſtate for any length of time. Conqueſts made there could not be permanent, nor could they be uſeful while they were retained. The misfortunes of the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. were not yet forgotten. The policy of the Directory therefore, as of their predeceſſors in power, the legiſlative and conventional aſſemblies, had, in relation to Naples, been that of exemplary mildneſs and moderation. But the late deliberate and unprovoked aggreſſion of the weak, raſh, and miſguided ſovereign of the Sicilies awakened all the republican reſentment and energy; and the manifeſto

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feſto denounced, that this court, too long ſpared, would at length receive the reward of its demerits.

The main body of the Neapolitan army entered Rome without oppoſition on the 29th of November, whilſt the combined fleets of England and Naples took poſſeſſion of the port of Leghorn. The French, unable to make any reſiſtance to ſo immenſe a ſuperiority of numbers, had retreated towards Civita-Caſtellana, leaving a garriſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. During the occupation of Rome by the king of Naples, different detachments of the Neapolitan army had been defeated by the French generals Lemoine and Ruſca; and reinforcements now arriving from all parts, a general attack upon the Sicilians took place throughout their whole line of poſts. In the various combats which enſued, the army of Naples ſuffered immenſe loſs---12,000 priſoners falling into the hands of the French, and 100 pieces of cannon. His Sicilian majeſty now evacuated Rome with the greateſt precipitation, and was purſued with equal vigor by the French. On the 31ſt of December, an armiſtice, limited or illimited, was offered by general Mack, in a letter written from Capua, on pretext of the ſeverity of the weather and badneſs of the roads. General Championet returned for anſwer, "that as his army had ſo far overcome the difficulties both of the way and the weather, he ſhould not halt till he made his entrance into Naples."

Soon after this interchange of meſſages, the ſtrong poſt of Gaeta was taken, containing immenſe magazines and ſtores of every kind;---another body of troops, under general Duheſme, which had forced its way with great reſolution and ſucceſs along the line of the Adriatic coaſt through a country interſected with rivers, and guarded by troops which might have diſputed every ſtep, gaining a complete victory on the banks of the Vomano, and taking poſſeſſion of the important maritime fortreſs of Peſcara. The king of the Sicilies, with the royal family, accompanied by the Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and Britiſh ambaſſadors, had embarked

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on board the Britiſh ſhips in the harbour on the eve of the 1ſt of January, 1799, and been ſafely landed at Palermo. On the 21ſt Capua was ſurrendered to the French; and the Neapolitan army, being now completely diſorganized, and the city and kingdom of Naples in a ſtate of abſolute anarchy, general Mack, againſt whom the popular rage was chiefly directed, thought proper to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to general Championet. Nothing now remained but the conqueſt of the metropolis—the citadel of St. Elmo having been already ſecured by the patriots: and the ſummons to ſurrender being rejected, every thing was prepared for the aſſault, which took place on the night of the 23d of January. The city, although deſerted by all who had any real intereſt in its ſafety, was defended with aſtoniſhing reſolution and bravery for many hours by the Lazaroni. The combat laſted till after the dawn of day, when the paſſages to the Caſtel Nuovo, and the Fort del Camine, being forced by the bayonet, liberal terms were offered to theſe poor wretches, now nearly ſurrounded, by the French general, who declared at the ſame time his high reſpect for St. Januarius. A ſhout of acclamation ſucceeded; and the Lazaroni immediately laid down their arms, proteſting that they were friends of liberty and the French, and wondering how they could have been ſo long deceived. The day ſucceeding the ceſſation of hoſtilities, the army of Rome was proclaimed the army of Naples, and this was immediately followed by another proclamation for eſtabliſhing a proviſional government in the NEAPOLITAN REPUBLIC.

To conclude the hiſtory of this memorable year, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that on the 18th of December, at the moment probably of exultation on receiving the triumphant intelligence of the march of the Sicilians into Rome, a proviſional treaty was ſigned at St. Peterſburg between the emperor Paul and the king of Great Britain, conformably to the tenor of which the two high contracting powers engage

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gage " to employ all their endeavours to induce the king of Pruſſia to take an active part againſt the common enemy. Immediately, on his Pruſſian majeſty's conſenting to this meaſure, his Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias is ready to afford him a ſuccour of land forces; and he deſtines, for that purpoſe, 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the neceſſary artillery. In conſideration of this ſervice, his Britannic majeſty engages to furniſh his majeſty the emperor a ſubſidy of 75,000 *l.* ſterling per month, from the day on which the Ruſſian troops ſhall have paſſed the frontier: Alſo another ſubſidy of 37,500 *l.* per month for extra charges during all the time that the ſaid troops ſhall be employed by virtue of this treaty: Alſo the further ſum of 225,000 *l.* in three months, to expedite the march of the troops to be employed in *the good cauſe*. And even previous to the termination of the negotiation with Pruſſia, the emperor *magnanimouſly* promiſes that the ſaid troops ſhall be put upon ſuch a footing, that, *agreeably to the ſtipulations of the treaty*, they may immediately be employed wherever the utility of the common cauſe ſhall require." —The firmneſs of the king of Pruſſia, in reſiſting this overture, together with the mild and guarded terms in which he expreſſed his refuſal, ſo as not merely to avoid offence, but to maintain as ſtrict a friendſhip with the courts of Ruſſia and Great Britain after as before this embarraſſing propoſition was made to him, eſtabliſhed his reputation as a wiſe and diſcerning ſtateſman—fully juſtifying the high and ſanguine hopes which his renowned predeceſſor Frederic the Great is known to have entertained reſpecting him.

Thus, by the profligate ambition and preſumption of the French Directory on the one part, and the pride, folly, and miſchievous activity of the Britiſh adminiſtration on the other, was a war, which appeared well nigh terminated, recommenced with additional fury;—ſeeming but

but too likely to extend to a long ſucceſſion of calamitous and mournful years, deſtined to be recorded in letters of blood. But the terrified imagination ſees pourtrayed, on the veil which conceals futurity, from mortal view, frightful forms and ominous characters, bearing little reſemblance to the events actually pre-ordained, in the courſe of human affairs, to take place.

THE END.

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